DOCUMENT RESUME

ED 082 918 RC 007 392

AUTHOR Potts, James Elliott
TITLE A Study of the Retention of Indian Children in Grade One in Nova Scotia Elementary Schools and the Influence of Language and Pre-School Orientation in 1971-1972.
PUB DATE Oct 73
NOTE 151p.; Master's Thesis, Acadia University

EDRS PRICE MF-$0.65 HC-$6.58
DESCRIPTORS Achievement; *American Indians; Attendance; *Dropouts; *Elementary School Students; *Grade 1; *School Holding Power; School Role; Tables (Data)
IDENTIFIERS *Micmacs; Nova Scotia

ABSTRACT

The study examined the records of all American Indian children who were in Grade I in 1971-72 in all elementary schools in Nova Scotia to determine the number of these children retained in Grade I. The method was a descriptive survey technique. The total population of Grade I students was 134. The most significant finding was that 96 children of the total 134 had been moved to Grade II in September 1972. It was found, moreover, that out of the total, 64 had never been retained at any level prior to being moved into Grade II. In reverse, it was found that 70 children had been retained for at least their second year. In analyzing the language background of the 64 children who were able to move into Grade II, it was found that 39 of the Grade I population came from homes where the commonly used language was Micmac. The repeat rate of native children is reduced when they have had pre-grade I orientation. Eight recommendations are presented--e.g., in all programs in the pre-Grade I area, as well as in other areas, that there be a maximum parental involvement. Other research which should be eventually undertaken is a continuation of the current study on a longitudinal basis. The basic raw data about each of the 134 children could be followed over the next 12 years on a year-to-year basis. (FF)

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A STUDY OF THE RETENTION OF INDIAN CHILDREN IN GRADE ONE IN NOVA SCOTIA ELEMENTARY SCHOOLS AND THE INFLUENCE OF LANGUAGE AND PRE-SCHOOL ORIENTATION IN 1971-1972

by

James Elliott Potts

B.A. University of Western Ontario, 1936

B.Ed. Acadia University, 1971

Thesis

submitted in partial fulfillment of the requirements

for the Degree of Master of Education in the

School of Education at Acadia University

October, 1973

K007392

This thesis by James Elliott Potts
is accepted in its present form by the School of
Education as satisfying the
thesis requirements for the degree
Master of Education

Date September 27, 1973. Ivan Cassady

Approved by the Graduate Studies Committee

Date ....

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(Signature of Supervisor)

September 27, 1973
(Date)

ACKNOWLEDGMENT

Assistance for this project came from many quarters. First to the teachers and principals who cooperated with me, I would like to express my sincere thanks. In particular, I would like to acknowledge the helpfulness of Mr. Leonard LeBlanc, District Superintendent of Education, Department of Indian Affairs and Northern Development, for providing statistics on the different schools.

To Chief John Knockwood of the Shubenacadie Band and now President of the Union of Nova Scotia Indians I owe a great deal for his valuable letter of introduction which opened all doors for me in the different schools.

Two other Micmac friends should be mentioned. One is Greg Johnston for his permission to let me quote freely from his own research on the Micmac people and the other is Peter Christmas whose dedication to the education of his own people has helped me to an understanding and insight of the native peoples of Nova Scotia.

Finally, to my Chairman, Dr. Ivan Cassidy, I would like to indicate my appreciation for not only his skillful criticism but also for his encouraging guidance which he extended in such an unstinting manner.

Wolfville, Nova Scotia — James E. Potts

October, 1973.

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Chapter 1

INTRODUCTION

> The major problem of Indian educators has been the failure to recognize Indians as a unique culture, distinct from the mainstreams of French and English cultures in Canada. Educators have not met the needs of Indian children. They have tried to fit them into an alien type of educational program. When Indian children fail to meet these alien standards, they are branded as being ineducable. This attitude towards Indians is not unique; it is common to much of the power structure in Canada. With this false attitude being held, it is not surprising that Indian children never 'make it'.[1]

Background of the Problem

Since August 1971 close contact has been maintained by this writer with the native people of Nova Scotia through a number of volunteer projects. One of these was assisting in the preparation and writing of the brief to the Nova Scotia Commission on Education in October, 1971. During the preparation of that brief, it was found difficult to obtain pertinent figures on the progress of Indian students in both federal and provincial schools in Nova Scotia. While most of the needed information exists, it usually has to be extracted from school records or from the files of the Educational Division of the Department of Indian

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[1] Hope MacLean and Roberta Jamieson, A Review of Indian Education in North America, co-ordinated by Howard Fluxgold (Ontario Teachers Federation, Toronto, 1972), p. 147.

Affairs and Northern Development. From the latter source, figures were obtained for the brief, which showed the enrolment for grades starting with Kindergarten and ending with Grade Twelve and Special Classes.

This information was available for a number of years so that it was possible to calculate the number of children who had started in Grade One in 1960 and then to follow their progress, year by year, for the next twelve years until normally they should have reached Grade XII. The total number of children who had reached Grade XII in the year 1971 represented a rough completion index which was used in lieu of a more accurate figure of the percentage of Indian children in the Nova Scotia schools who had been able to reach Grade XII. The percentage figure obtained for 1971 was 3.7 per cent, and even these figures were somewhat exaggerated because the total for students enrolled in Special Classes had been lumped together with those enrolled in Grade XII. In reality, some of the students in Special Classes had never reached Grade XII. Looked at from another point of view, the figures revealed that at least 96.3 per cent of all Indian students in Nova Scotia dropped out of school before reaching Grade XII. When checked back over earlier years, the figures were found to be remarkably constant.

Outside of Nova Scotia, a study of some magnitude entitled "A Survey of the Contemporary Indians of Canada" was completed and published in 1966. It was commissioned by the then Indian Affairs Branch, Ottawa, at that time (1964) under the Department of Citizenship and Immigration. To get the research done the University of British Columbia was asked to undertake, "in conjunction with scholars in other universities, a study of the social, educational and economic situation of the Indians of Canada and to offer recommendation." Under the direction of Dr. H. B. Hawthorn and M. A. Tremblay and a large research staff, consultants and specialized assistants, the survey was completed in two years and its findings published. As a source of information and comment, it will be referred to in detail in the proposed thesis just as it was constantly quoted by the native people themselves, in making their presentation on education to the Royal Commission.

Hawthorn used the same procedure to obtain completion rates on Indian children finishing Grade XI and reaching Grade XII. In 1963, Hawthorn found that there were about 45,309 students attending day schools, boarding schools, provincial schools, vocational schools and special schools.

It was found by the research teams that only 57 students were registered in universities in 1963, with the balance mostly in elementary schools and a small

proportion in secondary schools and vocational institutes. In projecting back 12 years from 1962 to 1951, Hawthorn found in that year an enrolment of 8,782 students in Grade I. By 1962, the enrolment for Grade XII was down to 341. It was calculated that there was a loss of school population of 94 per cent for all Indian students in Canada, compared to the 96.3 per cent found in Nova Scotia.[2]

Examination of the grade-by-grade enrolment figures revealed that :

> . . . approximately 80 per cent of the Indian students are retained in Grade I; some are held there for three years. Only 12 per cent of the students were found to be in their proper age-grade. (Calculations were done on the basis of age six = Grade I; age seven = Grade 2, and so on.) The average Indian student is two and one half years behind the average non-Indian student by the end of the eighth grade.[3]

In Nova Scotia, in researching the Brief of the Union of Nova Scotia Indians to the Royal Commission, it was found difficult to get accurate information about the repeat rates for various grades. It was, in fact, found necessary to quote the Hawthorn report on this subject to ensure reliability of figures.

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[2] H. B. Hawthorn (ed.), A Survey of Contemporary Indians of Canada--Economic, Political, Educational Needs and Policies (Ottawa: Indian Affairs Branch, October, 1967), Volume II, p. 130.

[3] Ibid., p. 132.

While Hawthorn stated that samples to confirm his figures were taken throughout the provinces, there is no specific reference to the Maritimes or Nova Scotia and no information dealing directly with this area has been found in the field of education. There are studies on employment, welfare and other subjects but no breakdown of the educational statistics on a provincial level.

This deficiency was noted in the brief to the Royal Commission on Education, and it was suggested to the Commission that "this area is worth further research and study." Specifically, it was mentioned that clarification of the facts about repeat rates of native children in Grade I should be sought. Did the national average of 80 per cent repeat rate in the first grade apply to the Micmac children attending schools in Nova Scotia? Equally important were the questions as to the positive effects of pre-school education, the influence of the language of the home, and the starting age in Grade I.

Statement of the Problem

The purpose of this study was to examine the records of all Indian children who were in Grade I in 1971-72 in all ementary schools in Nova Scotia, provincial or federal, and to determine the number of these children who were retained in Grade I or its equivalent for an additional

year. If the information can be obtained, it will also be determined whether a child has been retained for more than two years and whether there is any evidence of the repeat rate of these children and the relationship, if any, to previous school orientation, the school starting age in Grade I and the language spoken in the home.

Sub-Problems

1. What is the repeat rate of Indian children in an elementary school in Nova Scotia where an Indian student enters Grade I without previous school orientation?

2. What is the repeat rate of Indian children in an elementary school in Nova Scotia where an Indian student enters Grade I with one year of pre-Grade I orientation?

3. What is the repeat rate of Indian children in an elementary school in Nova Scotia where an Indian student enters Grade I with two years of pre-Grade I orientation?

4. What is the difference in the repeat rate of Indian students who attend a federal elementary school and Indian students who attend a provincial elementary school?

5. What evidence is there which suggests that there is a relationship between the repeat rate of Indian children in the first grade to the use of their native language?

The Importance of the Problem

There is a growing amount of evidence in support of pre-school orientation and the utilization of the native language in the early school years but it is still insufficient to give a clear picture as to its value in helping the native child in coping with the experience of going to school.

There is, however, much evidence of native children who start school too late, who are held back in the early grades and whose initial experience with school is a complete disaster. Such children seldom recover from the traumatic experience which puts success in school forever out of their reach. Hawthorn has well documented this aspect of the education of the native child.

Yet, in spite of such information, there has been little factual data, either in Nova Scotia or across Canada, which would provide a quantitative as well as a qualitative picture of the repeat rate of native children in Grade I. Even the Division of Education of the Department of Indian Affairs and Northern Development does not have an up-dated picture of this situation. The difficulties of

obtaining such information from even the most reliable and willing sources are considerable.

It is believed, therefore, that this particular survey, while small in scope, has the advantage of being precise and accurate in its findings. Equally important, it is believed that through this project, which determined the extent of pre-school orientation of the children in this population, together with the amount of repetition in Grade I, a greater insight into the problem will be obtained.

It is believed that there is value in this study to the extent that it may help native peoples develop an awareness of the areas where their children are running into obstacles at school and how these obstacles may be overcome through more pre-school activity.[4]

Finally, the usefulness of this research may well be in future studies of this nature in other provinces; the study of other grade repetition facts and the continuation of this particular study on a longitudinal basis.

It is considered that this research will also add to the growing recognition of the importance of the utilization of the native language in the learning process

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[4] Ibid., p. 133.

during the early years in school if the findings indicate any kind of relationship between the retention of native children in the first grade and the language of their home.

Hypothesis

The general hypothesis was that among Indian children at the Grade I level in the federal and provincial schools of Nova Scotia, there will be a reduction in the extent of their retention in Grade I related to the amount of their pre-Grade I orientation and the degree of usage of their native language in the home.

Assumptions

Behind the hypothesis which has been outlined above are the following assumptions:

1. The native student who comes to Grade I without pre-Grade I orientation is not inferior to a non-Indian child but simply has gone through a different process of socialization.

2. This difference in background is composed of many things, one of the most important being the language used in the home from birth.

3. When the Indian child first comes in contact with the institution called school he experiences a cultural shock.

Limitations of the Study

A careful effort has been made to define the limitations of this study in terms of size, representativeness and its distinctive composition.

The size of the group described has been dictated by the actual number of Indian children attending first grade in the elementary schools in Nova Scotia during the school year 1971-72. Two yardsticks have been used to obtain this information. One was the official enrolment figures by grades, by schools, supplied by the Department of Indian Affairs and Northern Development in the Maritimes; and the other was a personal school-by-school visit, which was made to all federal and provincial schools where Indian children were known to be in Grade I. It is believed that it can be said that the group used represents 100 per cent of the population.

The study was fully representative of the native children of Nova Scotia living in either cities or towns or on reserves. There has been no restriction or limitation imposed as to sex and age.

The distinctive composition of the group researched was found primarily in the characteristic of being a native student who was in attendance in Grade I in any federal or provincial school during the school year 1971-72.

One of the consequences which flows from the above limitations was that there is no comparison made with non-native students. This has been done deliberately as it is not believed possible to make a meaningful comparison which would not be biased by the dominance of the white culture. This study was not interested in such comparisons.

There was a limitation as to the extent to which any of the figures which were obtained can be compared with figures of other such studies which may be made in the future in other provinces. There are differences in cultural backgrounds between the Micmacs of Nova Scotia and the hundreds of other bands of native people across Canada.

There was also the limitation of the depth of the study. The most effective would have been a personal interview with each child in both school and the home and a discussion with the parents. This would have revealed a good deal of information that was not possible to obtain by the method used.

There was also the limitation of the human error in recording the movements of native children and their parents from place to place. This was encountered on a number of occasions, where principals or teachers indicated that they did not know where certain native students had gone.

Definition of Terms

Orientation as defined by Webster's Third International Dictionary means to acquaint with an existing situation or environment. For the purpose of this study, pre-Grade I orientation means the amount of time that a native child was given to get acquainted with a school atmosphere or environment in the form of nursery, kindergarten, head start or primary programs.

Provincial School means any school which is under the auspices of the provincial department of education.

Federal School means any school which is under the control of the Educational Division of the Department of Indian Affairs and Northern Development.

Primary Class is the class into which a child may go for one year prior to entering Grade I.

Kindergarten is the group into which a child may go for one year prior to entry into the Primary class and two years before entry into Grade I.

Nursery School or Head Start Program is considered the same, as both indicate that a child is receiving pre-Grade I orientation three years before entering Grade I.

Repeat Rate has been used in two different ways. (a) To indicate the number of children who have been retained in Grade I after completing one full year in that

grade, in the school year from September 1971 to June 1972.

(b) The repeat rate has been used to indicate the total number of years that any Indian student has had to stay in Grade I, who was in that grade during the school year 1971-72 or had to stay in Grade I starting in September 1972 and ending in June 1973.

Retention means the time that a child has been kept in Grade I including the regular year.

Chapter 2

HISTORY OF INDIAN EDUCATION

The introduction of a historical background on Indian education is justified on the grounds that it will provide a screen against which the research project can be seen in its proper perspective.

It has been claimed by Phillips that there is "no record of any systematic teaching of either white or Indian children" in the early French settlements.[1] When the British took over, little attention or concern was given to the education of the native peoples. The problems of getting adequate schools for themselves was of much greater priority.

In the years prior to Confederation, however, a small but important body of legislation was passed placing responsibility for the education of native peoples upon the provincial or local governments. Several legislatures, including Nova Scotia, made provision for the attendance of Indians at schools serving non-Indians, including the

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[1] C. E. Phillips, The Development of Education in Canada (Toronto: W. J. Gage, 1957).

payment to local authorities for tuition and board.[2]

The British North America Act turned over to the Federal Government the necessary powers to deal with all questions concerning the native peoples, including education which for other peoples had been passed over to the provinces. In 1876 the Indian Act was passed which superseded previous legislation and tied up a number of legal knots for the federal administration of "Indian Affairs."[3]

This was the beginning of "the paternalistic era" and for the next ninety years a policy of isolation confined native peoples to their reserves and largely contributed to their being kept out of the mainstream of Canadian society and development.[4]

The federal government also took over the treaty-making powers formerly held before Confederation by the Imperial government. In these new treaties there was now a commitment to "maintain schools on the reserve . . . whenever the Indians of the reserve shall desire it." They

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[2]Senate Report No. 14, Second Session, Twenty-eighth Parliament, 1969-70, Brief submitted by the Department of Indian Affairs and Northern Development, January 20, 1970, p. 59.

[3]Ibid.

[4]H. B. Hawthorn (ed.), A Survey of Contemporary Indians of Canada--Economic, Political, Educational Needs and Policies (Ottawa: Indian Affairs Branch, October, 1967), Vol. II, 22.

furthermore agreed "to make such provision as may from time to time be deemed advisable for the education of the Indian children."[5]

The effect of such treaties, virtually from 1871 to the end of the Second World War, was that no action was taken because the Indian people did not know either how or what to ask for nor were they given much help either by the federal administration or the various denominational groups who had taken on the role of education. In some cases this role was a continuing one and in others it was requested by the federal administration. The results were that Indian education like all other aspects of Indian life controlled by the Department of Indian Affairs was stultified by its narrow and isolationalist policy. One of the major weaknesses was that little attention was paid to developing a curriculum that would help their language difficulties or their need to adjust to a different lifestyle. In the Maritimes, long after the end of World War II, Indian people describe their punishment at the residential school at Shubenacadie for lapsing into their native Micmac tongue. Under these circumstances, it is understandable that the home played only a small supportive role to the existing school system. A child who was taught

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[5]Senate Report No. 14, op. cit., p. 59.

to deny his own cultural background on one hand yet given no opportunity to participate in the dominant white culture usually retreated back to the reserve life convinced that education was of little help.

The Second World War produced a situation for the native peoples of Canada and the United States that no other happening in the previous hundred years had been able to achieve. It created a demand for young strong native people, either as workers in war plants or in the army as soldiers. For those who participated as workers or soldiers their reserve life would never be the same again.

In 1946, the Joint Parliamentary Committee of the Senate and the House of Commons on the Administration of Indian Affairs was set up in response to public criticism of the wide educational gap between native and non-Indian children. The outcome was that new policies were developed and the first complete overhaul of the Indian Act in seventy-five years took place.[6]

The objectives developed at that time still reflect many of the goals of the Department of Indian Affairs and the incumbent federal government. Basically, they represented a policy of school integration as against the paternalism of the previous period where

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[6] Ibid., p. 60.

"schools were normally segregated and there was no question of allowing Indian students to attend the same schools as whites."[7]

With the new direction of government thinking, changes began to happen. New schools were built, new teachers were hired supposedly more competent than those in the past. From 1948 to 1964, the number of native people attending school rose from 23,285 to 55,475. In the same period the number attending secondary school increased from 700 to 5,000. As a reflection of the changing conditions, the federal government budget for Indian education went from five million dollars in 1948 to $31,500,000 in 1963 and to $125,000,000 in 1971 according to the Minister of Indian Affairs.[8]

Emphasis was placed on the new integration policy and while only about one hundred Indian students attended integrated schools in 1945, less than ten years later the number had grown to 22,764. This represented over 40 per cent of the entire school population. In 1971, Father Andre Renaud placed the total number of Indian children attending

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[7]Hawthorn, op. cit., p. 30.

[8]"Progress Report on Indian Education," Speech by Jean Chretien, Minister of Indian Affairs and Northern Development to the Canadian Catholic School Trustees Convention, Thunder Bay, Ontario, 1971.

school at a figure of 70,000. Of this number some 60 per cent were attending integrated schools, off the reserve, which were under the auspices of the provincial governments.

The objective of integrated education was that the Indian child would obtain a complete educational program which would be suited "to his individual needs, the local circumstances, and the wishes of the parents." On a broader scale, the objective was to provide the Indian child with a bridge from his reserve life to the larger Canadian society. It was believed that education would give him the key to economic independence.[9]

During the years that followed from 1946 to almost the present there has been the unswerving belief that integration through the schools was the road to solving the Indian problem. So convinced was the Trudeau government of this policy that in 1969 they introduced the "White Paper on Indian Affairs." It was proposed that the integration program should go even further to the extent that the provinces would take over complete responsibility for the education of native children. The federal government, however, would continue to pay the cost. In addition, the White Paper proposed that the provinces should supply other

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[9]Hawthorn, op. cit., p. 32.

services and that within a five-year period the federal government should divest itself of its responsibility to the native people.[10]

The response on the part of all the provinces was positive, but the reaction on the part of the native people was so definitely negative that it now appears that the White Paper is a dead issue. The basic objection was that the federal government was washing its hands of its historic responsibility without full agreement and consultation with the representatives of the native peoples.[11]

While the White Paper is now history, the policy of integration through the provincial school system still continues. A new element has entered the picture, however namely, the growing demand by the native peoples for participation and involvement in school boards off the reserves and for complete control of the schools on the reserve. The struggle is still continuing but there is no doubt that in the long run the native people will take over.[12]

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[10]White Paper--Statement of the Government of Canada on Indian Policy, 1969; presented to the First Session of the Twenty-eighth Parliament by the Honorable Jean Chretien.

[11]Harold Cardinal, President, Indian Association of Alberta, Address during presentation by the Indian Chiefs of Alberta to the Prime Minister and the Government of Canada, June 4, 1970.

[12]Brief to Nova Scotia Royal Commission on Education by Union of Nova Scotia Indians, October, 1971, pp. 12-14.

Among the native peoples themselves, the issues are not so clear and there are often divergent points of view which prevent a united front from taking place. There is one question, however, on which there is no disagreement. The native people want better quality of education whether it be through the federal schools or provincial schools.[13]

This point has been made clear to them through their educational experiences, the lack of educational fulfillment of their parents in the past years since 1945, and the continuing difficulties to which they see their children exposed.

Statistically, their case is supported by massive evidence, not only the Hawthorn report of 1967 but the even more comprehensive survey carried out in the United States by a Special Sub-Committee of the Committee on Labour and Public Welfare of the Senate. This report concludes that formal education of the Indian child in the United States as a social endeavour is a complete failure.[14]

Much the same conclusion is reached by the Hawthorn report.

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[13]Hawthorn, op. cit., p. 99.

[14]Senate Committee on Labour & Public Welfare. Indian Education: A National Tragedy--A National Challenge. 1969 Report of the Committee on Labour and Public Welfare, No. 91, United States Senate. Made by its Special Sub-Committee on Indian Education, Washington, D.C., 1969.

> In a period of twelve years (1951-1962) 8,441 Indian students out of 8,782 did not complete high school. Figures are not available which would specify the separate rates of retention and attrition. We are forced to use the gross figures which indicates there is a 94 per cent loss of school population between Grades I and XII. The national rate of drop out of non-Indian students is approximately 12 per cent. The two figures of attrition are not fully comparable since late entry, language difficulty, and other factors already cited for Indian students makes such a comparison unreasonable. Nevertheless, the difference is a rough measure of the position of Indian students in relation to non-Indians.[15]

In commenting on these figures, Father Andre Renaud, during the Quance lectures of 1971, stated that the educational gap between the Indian student and the non-Indian student was not closing. Any gains that have been made have been equalled by similar gains by the non-Indian population.[16]

Under the pressure of these facts, the federal government has introduced changes recommended by the Hawthorn Report and by the Standing Committee on Indian Affairs and Northern Development. One of the recommendations was that the federal schools should be turned into "models of excellence." Another was that all curriculums should be revised to include more Indian history, and especially Indian

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[15]Hawthorn, op. cit., p. 130.

[16]Andre Renaud, "Education and the First Canadians," Lectures delivered in the Quance Lecture Series in Canadian Education, 1971 (Toronto: Gage Co., 1971), p. 18.

contributions to the economy, science, medicine, agriculture, exploration, etc.

There should be special courses in Indian culture, music, art, handicrafts and similar courses should be part of the provincial curriculum.[17]

A far reaching recommendation was that the "language of instruction at the pre-school level and up to the first- or second-year of primary school should be in the language of the local Indian community."[18]

It was also clearly stated that any decision as to what language of instruction should be used should be made only after the parents of the children involved were consulted.

Equally important was the recommendation that within a period of five years, pre-school instruction should be made available to all Indian and Eskimo children as soon as they reach the age of three years. In making this recommendation, the Committee pointed out that in Germany, the educational authorities were implementing a similar type of program whereby all three-year old children would be in a training program within the next

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[17]Parliamentary Standing Committee on Indian Affairs and Northern Development, Fifth Report to the House of Commons, June 22, 1971.

[18]Ibid., p. 16.

ten years. The opinion was expressed that lowering the age of instruction had been recognized for some time as the most efficient way of overcoming early educational and other disadvantages. In addition one of the most controversial issues was met head-on, and the Committee recommended that there should be no let-up on the present policy of phasing out elementary student residences and encouraging the setting up of day schools.

In a further effort to promote integration on a secondary school level the committee recommended that existing secondary schools on reserve lands should be phased out and the students sent to an integrated high school although only after approval had been given by the parents of the children involved.

Other recommendations are on school committees and school board participation, university education, community and parental attitudes to education, television, teacher training programs, particularly the training of native teachers.[19]

In actual practice, the majority of these recommendations will take some time before they are implemented, if indeed, it should happen at all. The shortage of native

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[19] Ibid., p. 6.

teachers, the time required for training even teacher's aides who have knowledge of the specific language may take another generation and by that time a further enrolment of Indian children will have been mutilated by the system. One point provides encouragement; namely, the extension of the kindergarten age to three years of age. In 1968-69, there were already 5,752 enrolments in the two-year kindergarten program and that number will increase greatly as the door is opened for the three-year olds. This will require considerable funding since in the kindergartens reported in 1968-69 these were only capable of accommodating 5,700 of the 18,000 children between four and five years of age. Taking care of the three-year olds, therefore, may be sometime in the future.[20]

This summary has not attempted to do more than highlight some of the facts of Indian education. It has not provided any insights into the nature of Indian education, the effects of language, the attitude of the parents, the background and attitudes of the teacher, the structure of the school, the attitude of peer groups both Indian and non-Indian, the attitude of the non-Indian community and its effect on both children and parents

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[20] Ibid., p. 8.

at Parent-Teacher meetings. A number of these points may get fuller treatment if they are deemed pertinent to the specific research project under consideration.

Chapter 3

REVIEW OF THE RELATED LITERATURE

General Overview

A great many studies on different facets of Indian education have been carried out in the last ten years including the government-supported studies of Hawthorn[1] in Canada and the Labour and Welfare Senate Sub-committee[2] in the United States. While all of them, in different ways, provide insight into the problem under consideration, only the most pertinent have been reported. In particular, emphasis has been given to literature dealing with the drop-out rate of Indians in Canada and the United States; comparison with non-Indian and other ethnic groups, although this study has deliberately avoided making any comparisons with non-Indian children in Nova Scotia. That may come in some future study. Special reference has been made to studies on the significance of general intelligence, mental abilities and the tests used to make such assessments.

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[1] H. B. Hawthorn (ed.), A Survey of Contemporary Indians of Canada--Economic, Political, Educational Needs and Policies (Ottawa: Indian Affairs Branch, October, 1967), Vol. II, p. 1.

[2] Senate Report No. 91, 91st Congress, First Session: "Indian Education: A Tragedy--A National Challenge."

In addition, a small portion of the literature on the cultural or ethnic factor, as well as studies of the socio-economic influence on the education of the Indian child has been included. More emphasis has been given to the former in showing how deep-rooted are the influences which bind the Indian child to his family, community and language and which are not taken into consideration by the majority of non-Indian controlled schools. The extent to which the school system has been incapable of meeting the needs of native children is documented, although not nearly to the degree possible. Greater weight is placed on reportage of those schools which have been successful in recognizing the importance of adjusting to the native child and not forcing him into the mould of the middle class educational production line. Literature on the all-embracing influence of language and how deeply it affects the educational prospects of an Indian child, from the moment he comes in contact with the school, is given an adequate but somewhat superficial coverage, in terms of the subject and the work which has been done. The same might be said of the reporting of the studies on pre-school experiments, like Head Start, Follow Through, New Start and other such projects. The studies are representative, however, of work which has been done which shows the importance now being placed on early school orientation.

Crawford, Peterson and Wurr reported that in secondary schools the Indian pupil typically begins to show evidence of scholastic and personal problems.[3] The dropout rate among American Indians is extremely high. Bryde found that the national dropout rate for Indian students from the eighth to the twelfth grade was 60 per cent.[4] Wax and Wax believed that socio-economic problems had much to do with the high dropout rate of Indian students.[5] They found that there was a higher frequency of dropouts among high school students when the father was irregularly employed than in those families where the father had steady employment. Also, they found that increasing difficulty with the English language caused a lag in comprehension and eventually resulted in termination of the student's education.

Data from the United States 1960 Census for male reservation Indians aged over fourteen showed that 9.6 per cent had no schooling, 50.4 per cent had an elementary

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[3]Dean A. Crawford, David L. Peterson, and Virgil Wurr, Minnesota Chippewa Indians, A Handbook for Teachers (St. Paul, Minnesota: Upper Midwest Regional Educational Laboratory, 1967).

[4]John F. Bryde, New Approach to Indian Education (Pine Ridge, S.D.: Holy Rosary Mission, 1967).

[5]Rosalie H. Wax and Murray L. Wax, "Dropout of Americans at the Secondary Level," Co-operative Research Project No. S-099, Atlanta, Georgia, Emory University, 1964.

education while 34.4 per cent had a secondary education, and 5.6 per cent had some university education or a university degree.[6]

In the United States, Coombs, in 1959, estimated that 60 per cent of all Indian students dropped out before finishing high school. This was considerably better than the 94 per cent figure reported by Hawthorn for all of Canada in 1967.[7]

Two more recent studies in the United States, for the period 1962-68, modify Coombs' findings. Bass[8] in the Southwest, found that the dropout rate was down to 38.7 per cent while Selinger[9], in the Northwest, obtained a figure of 47.7 per cent. Coombs[10] himself had found that Navajo students are now finishing high school at a rate of 70 per cent.

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[6]Madison L. Coombs, "The Indian Student is Not Low Man on the Totem Pole," Journal of American Indian Education, IX(May, 1970), 1-9.

[7]Hawthorn, op. cit., p. 130.

[8]Willard P. Bass, The American Indian High School Graduate in the Southwest (Albuquerque, New Mexico: Southwestern Cooperative Laboratory, 1969), pp. 67-68.

[9]Alphonse D. Selinger, The American Indian Graduate: After High School What? (Portland, Oregon: Northwest Regional Educational Laboratory, 1968), p. 78.

[10]Coombs, op. cit., p. 3.

The national United States dropout level for all non-Indian students has declined from 37 to 26 per cent during the period from 1959 to 1968.[11]

Johnson found in a longitudinal study for 1956 to 1965 in an Oregon high school a gain was shown by Indians compared with non-Indians for the factor of age retardation or average in grade. No gain was shown by Indians compared with non-Indians for the factor of dropout rate. With the exception of a few specific instances, the analysis of educational attainment factors for the period of ten years showed that the Indians made no gains compared with the non-Indians.[12]

In Canada it has been authoritatively established by the Hawthorn report of 1967 "that there is a 94 per cent loss of school population between Grades 1 and 12."[13]

The Brief submitted by the Department of Indian Affairs and Northern Development to the Special Senate Committee on Poverty, 1970, stated that 50 per cent of all

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[11]Hope MacLean and Roberta Jamieson, A Review of Indian Education in North America, co-ordinated by Howard Fluxgold Toronto: Ontario Teachers Federation, 1972), p. 17.

[12]Robert Stewart Johnson, "Comparative Study of Educational Attainment of Warm Spring Indians and Non-Indians in the Madras Union High School for the years 1956-65" (unpublished Doctor's dissertation, Washington State University, 1967).

[13]Hawthorn, op. cit., p. 130.

Indian children now reach Grade VIII and 25 per cent reach senior high school.[14]

The May, 1973, issue of the Journal of American Indian Education published a study by W. T. Stanbury on the comparative level of education of Canadian and American Indians and a comparison of off-reserve educational achievements in British Columbia.[15] Using the concept of the median number of grades completed for each group in five different age brackets it was found that for British Columbia Indians living off reserve, the median number of grades completed for those in the age group 55 to 64 was 4.1, which was only one-half the median number of grades completed for the non-Indian population. However, for the age group 20 to 24 the median for off-reserve Indians was 9.9 grades completed as against 10.5 for non-Indian males and 10.8 for non-Indian females. What was missing was a comparative figure for British Columbia Reserve Indians. These figures indicate that the gap is closing in Canada as well as in the United States in certain areas for the younger generations of native children.

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[14]Senate Report No. 14, Second Session, Twenty-eighth Parliament, 1969-70, Brief submitted by the Department of Indian Affairs and Northern Development, January 20, 1970, pp. 61-62.

[15]W. T. Stanbury, "Comparison of On and Off Reserve Educational Achievements," Journal of American Indian Education, XII, 3 (May, 1973), 31.

Davis' study of one hundred and fifty-seven Indians and Metis living in three towns in Saskatchewan indicated that in 1961-62 one hundred and fifty-two had completed Grade VIII or less. One-half of these persons had completed Grade IV or less.[16] In Winnipeg, Boek and Boek in 1957 in a sample of one hundred and four Indians and ninety-eight Metis living in Winnipeg found one-quarter of the sample had completed Grade IX or more. Forty per cent had completed Grade VI or less; and as in other studies, there was an inverse relationship between age and level of education.[17]

Jamieson reports that for a representative sample of thirty-five bands with a total population of almost 36,000, the proportion of the population educated past Grade IX did not exceed 7.2 per cent for any band. For sixteen bands, the proportion was less than 3 per cent.[18] Hawthorn, in analyzing this sample, found that of 8,782 Indian sutdents enrolled in Grade I in 1951, only 4,544

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[16]Arthur K. Davis, "Edging into Mainstream: Urban Indians in Saskatchewan," A Northern Dilemma: Reference Papers, eds. Davis, French, Knell, Fentner, Vol. II (Calgary: [n.n.], 1965), pp. 398, 401.

[17]W. E. Boek and J. K. Boek, "The People of Indian Ancestry in Greater Winnipeg," A Study of the Population of Indian Ancestry Living in Manitoba, ed. Jean H. Lagasse (Winnipeg: Queen's Printer, 1959), p. 50.

[18]S. M. Jamieson, "Socio-economic Factors Affecting Economic Development" in Hawthorn, op. cit., Vol. I, p. 103.

enrolled in Grade II.[19] Stanbury found a clear inverse relationship between age and education in the 1960 United Stated census with those over sixty-five completing 3.5 median years of school as against 9.2 median years for the age group 20-24. In a little over four decades the median number of grades completed increased 2.6 times.[20] Nagler's study of one hundred and forty-eight Indians living in Toronto (1964-66) showed a similar inverse relationship between age and educational attainments. It was found that for the age group between 14-19 years of age, some 63 per cent had nine years or more of schooling. In the group over forty years of age, some 38 per cent had nine years or more of schooling but only one-sixth had a Grade XII education as compared to one-third of those in the 20-29 group.[21]

The reasons for the academic difficulties that Indians encounter in school are many and the literature presents various positions depending upon the point of view from which it is written. Genetically, inferior intellectual ability as a factor in Indian academic achievement is a myth that has long since been rejected,

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[19]Hawthorn, op. cit., Vol. II, p. 130.

[20]Stanbury, op. cit., p. 26.

[21]Mark Nagler, "Indians in the City, A Study of the Urbanization of Indians in Toronto" in Stanbury, op. cit., p. 4.

with the proviso that factors such as malnutrition and other environmental conditions associated with poverty be recognized as influencing elements which do tend to retard intellectual development.[22]

Coleman et al., as part of a massive survey on the equality of educational opportunity in the United States, administered a verbal and non-verbal (reasoning) measure to first grades of various backgrounds at the beginning of the school year. It was found that children of low social status and children from minority groups (Negroes, Mexican Americans, Puerto Ricans, and American Indians) start school at Grade I with mean scores on verbal and non-verbal tests of general ability that are below the national white average. The American Indian group was found to score at the national average on the non-verbal measure at Grade I.[23]

In 1970, an assessment by Hendra of intelligence scores between Michigan Reservation Indian High School students where the dropout rate is close to 80 per cent

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[22]Miles V. Zintz, "Problems of Classroom Adjustment of Indian Children in Public Schools," Education of the Disadvantaged, ed. A. H. Passow (New York: [n.n.], 1967), pp. 88-100 in MacLean and Jamieson, op. cit., p. 19.

[23]J. S. Coleman et al., Equality of Educational Opportunity (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1966).

and Michigan Caucasian High School students found that there were no statistically significant differences between these particular groups in measured intelligence.[24]

Eells and Davis in their major study on cultural bias in intelligence tests have stimulated a multitude of studies which have shown the inadequacies in the tests themselves. Their effort to develop a culture-free measure of intelligence, while not successful, was an acceptance of the idea that it was possible to measure innate ability, independent of cultural and experimential factors. They were assuming that it would be possible to tap the basis of intelligence and that intelligence would be a stable quantity randomly distributed by social class.[25]

Stodolsky and Lesser believe that intelligence tests should be thought of today as being "samples of learning" which have been extracted from a person's general experience. Few researchers or workers in the educational field who have kept abreast of research developments would

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[24]Richard I. Hendra, "An Assessment of the Motivation and Achievement of Michigan Reservation Indian High School Students and Michigan Caucasian High School Students," Unpublished doctoral dissertation, Michigan State University, 1970.

[25]K. W. Eells et al., Intelligence and Cultural Differences (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1951) in S. Stodolsky and G. Lesser "Learning Patterns in the Disadvantaged," Harvard Educational Review, Vol. XXXVII, No. 4 (Fall, 1967), 546-593.

maintain that intelligence tests measure an innate factor which is unchanging and predetermined.[26]

In spite of this changed attitude, the Department of Indian Affairs and most public school systems throughout the country still have testing programs based on some form of pencil and paper work. One of the conclusions that Hawthorn came to in his study was that such tests could cause a great deal of personal harm to the child and serve little positive purpose. A recommendation was made that the Department remove all tests from its Federal schools which are not applicable to native children and that the same policy be put in effect in public schools.[27] To date this has not happened although in the brief to the Royal Commission on Education for Nova Scotia, this policy was endorsed by the Union of Nova Scotia Indians.[28]

Studies of intelligence test performance of minority groups and social class status have provided the broad outlines of a picture which for the most part indicates a deficit performance. It has been found that there are mean differences between children of high social-economic

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[26]Stodolsky and Lesser, Ibid., p. 548.

[27]Hawthorn, op. cit., Vol. I, p. 155.

[28]Brief to the Nova Scotia Royal Commission on Education by the Union of Nova Scotia Indians, October, 1971, p. 11.

status and those of low social-economic status on a consistent basis. According to Bereiter these differences are definitely present at the age of four and sometimes have been found at even younger ages.[29]

It is considered a truism to say that all disadvantaged children do not fall below those in their peer group who perform better in tests of intelligence and mental abilities. "The 'deficit model' applies to groups only."[30]

Early research in sub-culture differences attempted to show that minority-majority group differences were due to the verbal nature of most general intelligence tests. Investigators MacCarthur and Ellery, however, who used fewer verbal tests, obtained results which were equivocal.[31] The conclusion accepted at the moment is that although group differences may be reduced somewhat by eliminating verbal items from the tests, there are other factors which will affect test performance. Two of these factors are attitude towards test taking and speed. It has also been found that for certain ethnic groups such as Negroes,

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[29]C. Bereiter, et al., "An Academically Oriented Pre-School for Culturally Deprived Children," Paper presented at AERA Meeting, Chicago, Illinois, February, 1963.

[30]Stodolsky and Lesser, op. cit., p. 549.

[31]R. S. MacCarthur and W. B. Ellery, "The Reduction of Socio-Economic Bias in Intelligence Testing," British Journal of Educational Psychology, pp. 107-119 in Stodolsky and Lesser, Ibid., p. 549.

dropping the verbal components decreases the level of performance.[32]

Little work in the way of studies of other mental abilities has been systematically done. This is especially true of children in the early grades. One exception is the work of Lesser, Fife and Clark who studied high and low status Chinese, Jewish, Negroes, Puerto Rican children who were in the first grade. Their tests included Verbal Ability, Reasoning, Number Facility and Space Conceptualization.[33]

While no native children were included in this group the results could well apply to this ethnic group and possibly any other. It was found that there was a pattern of normalized mental ability which was different for each group and that there was a different ranking in each of the four tests. On the test of verbal ability, Jewish children were ranked first, with Negroes, Chinese and Puerto Ricans in that order. On the test of Space Conceptualization, the Chinese children ranked first, followed by the Jewish children and then Puerto Ricans and Negroes. It was contended by the researchers that once

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[32]Stodolsky and Lesser, op. cit., p. 549.

[33]G. S. Lesser et al., "Mental Abilities of Children from Different Social Class and Cultural Groups," Monographs, Society for Research in Child Development, 1965, p. 39.

the pattern emerges for each group, then it is not possible to alter it by the introduction of social class variations such as jobs, housing or education. This result was unexpected as it had been commonly held that social class influences outweigh ethnic group effects for activities such as child-rearing and phenomena such as educational and occupational aspirations, achievement motivation and anomie. Instead, the reverse was found; namely, that ethnicity or the cultural factor has the major effect on the organization of mental abilities and the organization of those mental abilities is not changed any further by the influences which we describe as social class.[34] When the full import of this finding is grasped, new insights begin to appear in terms of the failure of the current or past educational system to change the outlook and position of the native peoples. At the same time, some appreciation is gained as to why the native peoples of this country have never been assimilated over the past five hundred years. Hawthorn documents this as do Renaud and others who have recognized the deeply rooted pattern of ethnicity which exists.[35] Hawthorn calls it the socialization of the

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[34] Ibid., p. 567.

[35] Hawthorn, op. cit., Vol. I, p. 155.

child who comes into conflict with middle-class white society.[36]

Renaud talks about "identical opportunities" which have been the arguments advanced in favor of integrated education for the native peoples.[37] But for the Indian child, there are no identical opportunities in the institutionalized system of formal education that has been developed over the years to meet the needs of the children who are part of the majority society. As Renaud puts it,

> . . . the whole apparatus of Departments of Education, school boards, schools and teacher training institutions aims at providing the child from the age of six to eighteen with those ideas, understandings, attitudes, skills, and values which the home and the community acknowledge as socially acceptable but cannot provide without such an institution as the school system.

However, as Renaud also says it is only as long as the home and the community prepare the child for the assembly line of the school system that the school system will continue to function successfully. When the Native Indian child comes along, the system is incapable of handling him. Miller in a study of the effects of integration in North Dakota found that non-Indian pupils clearly had higher

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[36] Ibid., pp. 108-109.

[37] Andre Renaud, op. cit., p. 26.

achievement and intelligence scores, lower levels of alienation and more positive attitudes towards school. They also rated higher than the Indians on each of the variables designed to measure socio-economic levels.[38] Barnhardt in a study of three North Pacific Coast Indian communities endeavoured to answer the question, "What is happening in schools attended by Indian children?" and "Why haven't schools been successful with Indian children?" No final answers are given as the purpose of the study was to bring the above problems into clearer focus. Pertinent ethnographic data gathered by the research team provided a concrete and coherent framework for examining the interrelationships between the teachers, students and community and also described some of the qualitative ramifications of the problem of teaching Indian children.[39]

The study by Lesser, Fife and Clark showed that several mental abilities are organized in ways that are determined culturally. It was also found that both social

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[38]Harold J. Miller, "The Effects of Integration on Rural Indian Pupils," Unpublished doctoral dissertation, University of North Dakota, 1968.

[39]Raymond John Barnhardt, "Qualitative Dimensions in the Teaching of American Indian Children: A Descriptive Analysis of the Schooling Environment in Three North Pacific Coast Indian Communities." Unpublished doctoral dissertation, University of Oregon, 1970.

class and ethnicity affect the level of intellectual performance. However, only ethnicity fosters the development of a different pattern of abilities which provides the possibility for change.[40]

Reference has been made to the Coleman report which provides massive data on a national sample of children at grades one, three, six, nine and twelve relative to school achievement. Both verbal and non-verbal measures were used, including tests of reading and mathematics. One inescapable conclusion was that as minority group children went through the system, their performance was below the national average for all tests at all grades.[41]

Deutsch refers to the year-by-year dropping behind the majority group as "the cumulative deficit."[42] Hawthorn states that by the end of the eighth grade the native student has a cumulative deficit of two and a half years compared to the non-Indian student. Osborne, in one of the few longitudinal studies of disadvantaged children, found that as they move through the current school system, their deficit increases. The picture which emerges from these

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[40]Lesser et al., op. cit.

[41]MacLean and Jamieson, op. cit., p. 18.

[42]Martin Deutsch, "The Role of Social Class in Language Development and Cognition," American Journal of Ortho-Psychiatry, XXXV (January, 1965), 78-83.

studies of minority and disadvantaged children is that the existing school system has failed to meet their needs.[43] Payne has found that by the end of Grade I, over one-half of the children who will be failing in Grade VI can be identified on the basis of socio-economic data, intelligence test scores and an arithmetic test. By the end of Grade II, two-thirds of the failing children can be identified. Such information should provide the school with opportunities for changing the curriculum for those children, identifying their special needs and ensuring that they will find success rather than failure in their school experience. This identification at an early period provides a leeway of four to five years for the school to act, before the predicted failure takes place.[44]

It is believed by investigators like Stodolsky and Lesser that in addition to the type of research which has been described on the learning of disadvantaged students whether they be Indians or other ethnic groups, there are two major directions which such research can take. One is a tracing of the origins of the characteristics which have been observed in the disadvantaged while the other is

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[43] R. T. Osborne, "Racial Differences in Mental Growth and School Achievement: A Longitudinal Study," Psychology Reports, pp. 233-239 in Stodolsky and Lesser, op. cit., p. 559.

[44] Arlene Payne, "Early Predictions of Achievement, Administrators Notebook," p. 13 in Stodolsky and Lesser, ibid., p. 551.

school-based research which would ask two broad questions. First, what is needed from the student in terms of his behavior and attributes in order for him to begin the learning task? The second question is: how does the student's present socialization match such requirements?[45]

Back in 1951, Milner made a sizable start in research of development origins. Using first grade children in a white population of varying social classes, she assessed parent-child relations, as well as certain aspects of the home environment in relation to reading readiness.[46] Then Davé and Wolff separately set up indices of the home environment and related them to school achievement and intelligence test scores in a fifth grade white population of varying social classes. Davé found a multiple correlation of .80 between his ratings and results of standard test battery,[47] while Wolff obtained a multiple

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[45] Stodolsky and Lesser, op. cit., p. 551.

[46] Esther Milner, "A Study of the Relationship Between Reading Readiness in Grade One School Children and Patterns of Parent-Child Interactions," Child Development, XXII (June, 1951), 95-112.

[47] R. H. Dave, "The Identification and Measurement of Environmental Process Variables that are Related to Educational Achievement," Unpublished doctoral dissertation, University of Chicago, 1963.

correlation of .69 in his study.[48] Both these researchers used the interview to assess the environmental characteristics. Among those that were rated were the language model in the home, academic guidance provided by the home, provisions for general learning and the press for achievement.

Hawthorn reports that the initial research on the education segment of his project was carried out in the summer of 1964 in three Indian communities in British Columbia. These communities represented different socio-economic levels, and acculturation. Hawthorn used the interview system, conducted as informally as possible and with full assurance of confidentiality. He divided his indices into physical and psychological. In the first category were the economic factors of housing, food, clothing and objects, while in the second classification were the following: attitudes toward the child, parental interest in learning, verbal practice and development, sanctions for learning, routines for learning and discipline. The differences between the non-Indian and the native peoples in these latter factors constitute the specific ethnic patterns of the two cultures.[49] The

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[48] R. M. Wolff, "The Measurements of Environment," Proceedings of 1964 Invitational Conference on Testing Problems, Princeton, N. J., Educational Testing Service, 1965.

[49] Hawthorn, op. cit., Vol. I, pp. 110-112.

implications of inadequate housing, lack of proper nutritional foods, which greatly minimize learning capacity, or insufficient clothing even to attend school, and few toys or books or magazines are documented by Hawthorn as serious reasons for the lower patterns of learning and achievement.[50]

As Stodolsky and Lesser have pointed out, such items do not represent major factors of change in ethnic character, although they are important factors of a socio-economic nature.

Any child who is deprived of stimulation is likely to be lacking in the development of certain abilities. Indian children do have stimulation but of a different kind from that which is received by the non-Indian child. As soon as an Indian child is mobile he is considered a person and left relatively free to create and explore his own environment. A non-Indian child is usually not autonomous and remains dependent on his parents for many years. He does receive attention and has constant interaction and feedback from the adults around him. An Indian child by contrast soon develops a sense of independence and autonomy but he has limited stimulation and feedback from adults.[51]

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[50] Ibid., p. 110.

[51] Ibid., p. 112.

Parental interest in the larning of the child is important in helping a child to develop skills which he will be able to use later in school. Most Indian parents have little formal education as has been shown, nor do they usually have time to teach their children specific skills. Where necessary, the child is expected to watch and imitate his parents in activities which are related to living on the reserve.[52]

It is in the verbal practice and development of language skills that there is a wide gap between the Indian child and his non-Indian counterpart. Up to a few years ago, conversations between children and adults were limited in nature and questions often answered in monosyllables. Communication was achieved in other ways in addition to words. Too much talking was not considered a desirable attribute. Custom in the past frequently demanded silence from children in the presence of adults; and while this is not rigidly adhered to by the younger people, it is a factor. They are expected to listen and in families where the grandparents are still alive they may get the opportunity to hear legends and colourful tales.[53] In the Navajo residential school at Rough Rock,

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[52] Ibid.

[53] Ibid., p. 113.

older people from the reserve are employed to tell folk tales to the children in the school dormitories before they go to sleep. Such stories are usually in the native tongue.[54]

In the non-Indian society, a child is urged to try things which are considered necessary for him to know, whether he thinks so or not. He is rewarded for trying. Time is a constant factor with which he must learn to live, from the occasion he is told "see how fast you can dress yourself." Virtually the reverse is the situation in an Indian community. Indian time is a well-known phrase and a meeting called for 7:00 will usually not get started until 7:30 or 8:00. So a child is not criticized if he takes his own time to get dressed. An Indian child is permitted to do things which he wants to do and he is not pressed to get involved until he is ready. Seldom is he criticized for not doing a job correctly although when he learns after trial and error he is given approval for his success. He is not expected to compete with his brothers or sisters or the children in the house next door.[55]

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[54]Estelle Fuchs, "Learning to be Navajo-Americans: Innovations at Rough Rock Demonstration School," Saturday Review of Literature, September 16, 1967, pp. 82-99.

[55]Hawthorn, op. cit., Vol. I, p. 113.

In the process of learning, the routines of an Indian child are flexible and in fact may not exist at all. This applies to meal time in many homes as well as to bed time. Usually a child does not go to bed until adult activity stops or he becomes sleepy. He is not catered to and is expected to fit into the adult environment. All this is in direct contrast with most non-Indian homes although the greater permissiveness which has taken place in the last twenty years has eliminated some of the differences which formerly existed.[56]

Discipline in an Indian home is chiefly protective and there are much fewer restrictions against the child as there are for age-graded behavior in an non-Indian home. In the early years of the native child, behavioral expectations are not too demanding. As he grows older he may be embarrassed if he doesn't meet what is expected of him but there is a great deal of flexibility allowed him in his actions. It is up to him to make his own decisions.[57]

The general family patterns of an Indian child may be sometimes unstable. If the family are not on welfare, the father may be employed on jobs which keep him away from home for long periods of time. In some cases, there is conflict and disruption within the home; during periods

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[56] Ibid., p. 113.

[57] Ibid.

of drinking, children are often left on their own.[58]

A study by Peterson and Debord investigated various home factors like those outlined for the Indian child. However, their sample was drawn from lower white and Negro 11 year-old boys in a southern city. Their objective was to determine the relationship of these factors to achievement in school. Assessments were made of family composition, the economic and social stability of the family, its social participation and the cultural level of the home. In addition, checks were made on educational aspirations of the parents and their outlook on the larger world. It was found that both groups, white and black, achieved high multiple correlations. Using eleven variables the figure was .82 for the Negro while for the Whites it was .75 using fourteen home variables.[59]

The conclusion is drawn that such correlations obtained within a lower class sample indicates the extent to which home conditions vary within social class groups.

Another important step in developmental research is the work of Hess and Shipman. This is a study of Negro pre-school children, in which numerous maternal characteristics were assessed, including language and teaching

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[58] Ibid., p. 114.

[59] R. A. Peterson and L. Debord, "Educational Supportiveness of the Home and Academic Performance of Disadvantaged Boys," IMRID Behavioral Science, Monograph, George Peabody College, 1966, No. 3.

style. The maternal teaching style is assessed in a simple laboratory task where the mother is given instructions for a job and then is asked to teach her child the same task.[60]

Olim, Hess and Shipman report that maternal language is a better predictor of a child's abstraction score on a sorting task than either the mother's I.Q. or the child's I.Q.[61] Jackson, Hess and Shipman found that certain teaching variables were related to the learning outcomes of the child in an experimental teaching situation.[62] In addition, Stodolsky has extended these findings to predict a child's vocabulary at the age of five years using a combination of the mother's language and a number of teaching variables which were obtained when the child was four. It was found that the multiple correlation of these process variables and the child's vocabulary was .63. Stodolsky observed that the quality of the mother's own language, the mother's use of reinforcement in a teaching situation and the extent to which the mother made task

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[60] R. D. Hess and Virginia Shipman, "Early Experience and Socialization of Cognitive Modes in Children," Child Development, 1965, pp. 869-886.

[61] E. G. Olim et al., "Relationship Between Mothers' Abstract Language Style and Abstraction Styles of Urban Pre-School Children," Paper presented at the Midwest Psychological Association Meetings, Chicago, April, 1965.

[62] J. D. Jackson et al., "Communication Styles in Teachers: An Experiment," Paper presented at AERA meeting, Chicago, February, 1965.

relevant discriminations in teaching a task, was closely related to the child's vocabulary.[63] Hess and Shipman conclude that the behavior of the mother, especially her language and teaching behavior is a key to the child's learning behavior in the home.[64]

Lewis found that "life styles are usually quite adaptive to life circumstances."[65] Such changes in the behavior of parents which would help improve the education of disadvantaged students conceivably would be more successful if there was a change in the conditions which either produced or contributed to the production of the negative parental behavior. Such changes would involve the opportunity for work, elimination of depressing debts, acquisition of money with the choice as to where to spend it.

It is just these conditions which the present generation of parents of Indian children still face. Across the country the figure of nearly 50 per cent

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[63]Susan S. Stodolsky, "Maternal Behavior and Language and Concept Formation in Negro Pre-School Children: An Inquiry into Process." Unpublished doctoral dissertation, University of Chicago, 1965.

[64]Hess and Shipman, op. cit., p. 557.

[65]Hylon Lewis, "Child Rearing Practices Among Low Income Families in the District of Columbia," Paper presented at National Conference of Society and Welfare, Minneapolis, May, 1961.

unemployed testifies to the lack of work opportunity, which in turn reflects the attitude of the student toward education. "What is the use," says the Indian student, "of trying to get an education, when it does not produce the benefits which are held out to the non-Indian students?"[66]

Stodolsky asks the question, "Would poor people given jobs and money change in their behavior?"[67]

Would parental behavior at the cognitive level, teaching style, values and attitudes change under such circumstances?

Stodolsky admits that the answer is not known and suggests that considerable research on such questions is needed. One of the most important questions to be answered is the extent that "characteristics of poor children" are a function of their economic circumstances. Looked at from another point of view, it is necessary to find out whether the learning characteristics of young children can be impaired or enriched by the multi-level of economic and social conditions of the home.

In the opinion of Stodolsky, schools failed native students and other disadvantaged groups because teachers are not effective. Consequently, disadvantaged groups are not learning at an adequate pace because proper methods

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[66]Hawthorn, op. cit., Vol. I, p. 139.

[67]Stodolsky, op. cit., p. 559.

have not been created which would produce the results hoped for. It is believed that it is necessary to know what kind of behavior and treatment is required for each student and what kinds of attributes are called for by this behavior. It is also essential to find out whether the existing behavior pattern of the students match the requirements of the school. If they do not, then a change is called for. Stodolsky suggests that the process that goes on in the teacher's mind should be formalized. At some level he must attempt to analyze the objectives that he wants his students to achieve. Such objectives should be put into a logical sequence of learning. The teacher should also assess the state of readiness in terms of prior learnings and behavior which seems relevant. Then he must devise an instructional strategy which takes both the student and the curricula into effect.[68] In effect, this is what researchers like Hawthorn and educators like Renaud have been advocating for the education of tne native peoples of Canada. They strongly maintain that the native child must not be forced into the mould of middle-class white society. There must be a respect for his culture and the differences which exist between his views and his non-Indian counterpart. Gagne attempted a

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[68] Ibid., p. 560.

task analysis in the teaching of mathematics in which he started from low to high level tasks. Children were tested at each level very quickly so no child got out of his depth.[69]

Smilansky set up a kindergarten curricula which was used to provide disadvantaged Israeli children with the skills needed to enter the first grade. This is the kind of preparation needed by most Indian children. Smilansky used to observe successful first graders in the classroom and analyzed the behavior which was required of them. While completing this study and constructing assessment techniques, he simultaneously developed a curricula which would help the pre-schoolers to achieve the behavior pattern of those who had been successful in the first grade.[70]

A number of studies have shown that the Indian child is nearly equal to the Anglo at the pre-school and primary levels but as he progresses through grade levels

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[69] R. M. Gagne, "Contributions of Learning to Human Development," Address of the Vice-President, Section I, Psychology, American Association of the Advancement of Science, Washington, D.C., December, 1966.

[70] Sara Smilansky, "Progress Report on a program to demonstrate ways of using a year of kindergarten to promote cognitive abilities, important basic information and modify attitudes which are essential for scholastic success of culturally deprived children in their first two years of school, Jerusalem," Israel, Henrietta, Szold Institute, 1964, in Stodolsky and Lesser, op. cit., p. 560.

he falls behind.[71] The Ohannessian[72] and the Bass and Berger[73] studies are good examples. In each it was found that as the Indian students went up the school ladder, their achievement seemed to fall progressively behind the school norms. They found that the situation grew worse as the Indian child moved from the sixth to the twelfth grade. Hawthorn explains this as being due to the conflict of the early socialization process of the native child with the different orientation of the non-Indian child.[74]

For the Indian child the process of socialization within the school represents a clear discontinuity with his own early background. School expectations, rewards and punishments, classroom procedures and related factors all tend to help and complement the previous learning process of the non-Indian child, but for the native student it is a cultural shock. He is forced to unlearn familiar

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[71]Everett D. Edington, "Disadvantaged Rural Youth," Review of Educational Research, XL (February , 1960), 69-85.

[72]Sirapi Ohannessian, "The Study of the Problems of Teaching English to American Indians," (Washington, D.C.: Center for Applied Linguistics, 1967).

[73]Willard P. Bass and Henry G. Berger, American Indians and Educational Laboratories (Albuquerque, N. M.: Southwestern Cooperative Educational Laboratory, 1967).

[74]Hawthorn, op. cit., Vol. I, p. 127.

ways of doing things, learn new ways which he does not quite understand, if he understands at all, just in order to keep up with his non-Indian classmates.[75] Miller in a study of the effects of integration on rural Indian pupils in North Dakota found that Indian pupils who had attended pre-dominantly non-Indian schools were found to have a higher level of achievement, a lower level of alienation and a more positive attitude towards school than Indian children who have attended an all-Indian school. He also found, however, that in many of the so-called integrated classrooms, a segregated situation existed.[76]

Hawthorn, in pilot studies found that the factor of motivation in the native child, was complex and not easily unravelled. He was no less motivated than the non-Indian child, at least in the early school years. However, after years of lack of success it was found that there was a sharp drop in motivation.[77] Hendra in an assessment of motivation between Indian and non-Indian high school students in Michigan found no significant differences between the two groups. He also found a

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[75] Ibid., p. 109.

[76] Miller, op. cit., abstract.

[77] Hawthorn, op. cit., Vol. I, p. 129.

widespread lack of sensitivity towards Indian students by school personnel and that there was a limited curricula offered by the majority of the schools and a serious lack of supporting services.[78]

Language is still a stumbling block for many native children varying from community to community although there is a growing number of exceptions. In Whycocomagh, an eight-year old was encountered whose report card said that two years earlier he had entered school speaking no English. Today he is the top boy in Grade II class. In Shubenacadie, a seven-year old whose parents are bilingual was not able to say "much" in Micmac but could fluently pronounce in English the names of all the dinosaurs in his "Life" book on "Dinosaurs." Gaarder indicated that more than half of the Indian children he studied used an Indian language. This lack of familiarity with English made it difficult for them early in school to become part of the middle-class culture.[79] Wax and Wax found that proficiency in English was essential for scholastic or academic achievement.[80] Edington believes that for these

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[78]Richard I. Hendra, op. cit., p. 1.

[79]B. Gaarder, "Education of American Indian Children," Annual Conference, Southwest Council of Foreign Language Teachers, El Paso, Texas, The Council, 1967, pp. 31-39.

[80]Wax and Wax, op. cit.

and other reasons existing methods of measuring achievement and academic ability are biased against the child whose first language is not English.[81] Henderson previously had reached this conclusion in working with Spanish-speaking students. His finding was that lack of training and inadequate language were seen as barriers to advancement, more often than ethnic identity.[82] Mayeske stated that achievement was highest for Mexican-American students when English was spoken in the home. The use of a language other than English detracted from the achievements of the children in school.[83] Ivey in a doctoral study on the influence of Indian language background on reading and speech development, obtained evidence that a child with a non-English language environment is educationally penalized as a result of lack of practise in the use of English. It was also found that where deficiences exist in vocabulary and reading, defective speech is the major

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[81]Edington, op. cit., p. 81.

[82]Ronald W. Henderson, "Environmental Stimulation and Intellectual Development of Mexican-American Children: An Exploratory Project," No. 6-8068-2-12-1, Tucson: University of Arizona, 1966, p. 76.

[83]George W. Mayeske, "Educational Achievement Among Mexican-Americans," A special report from the Educational Opportunities Survey, U.S. Department of Health, Education and Welfare, Office of Education, Technical Note No. W2, Washington, D. C.

contributing factor.[84] Skinner reported that much of the illiteracy among the Appalachian people was really the result of failure to supply the children with the means of learning to use standard English effectively.[85] Much too frequently, this has been the case with Indian children.[86]

Renaud says that for most Indian children, English remains a second language and very few teachers are trained to teach it as a second language. In his opinion, this is the reason why so many Indian students spend more time in the first three grades than the average non-Indian child. Then, in Grade IV, it becomes even more difficult for him and as the technical language used increases, the native child finds it harder to master the content.[87] Wayne Holm found that nearly 90 per cent of Navajo six-year olds attending school for the first time were not able to take

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[84]Lillian Patience Ivey, "Influence of Indian Language Background on Reading and Speech Development," Unpublished doctoral dissertation, University of Oklahoma, 1968.

[85]Vincent P. Skinner, "Mountaineers Aren't Really Illiterate," Southern Education Report 3, 1967, pp. 18-19.

[86]Hawthorn, op. cit., Vol. I, p. 120.

[87]Renaud, op. cit., p. 32.

instruction in English.[88] Deutsch has pointed out "if language cannot be used as an elaborating form of communication, school loses much of its socializing and teaching capabilities, regardless of curriculum content."[89] In Canada, in 1962, a study of Indian school beginners showed that 25 per cent had no knowledge of English or French; some 13 per cent understood some French or English; some 19 per cent spoke some English or French; about 30 per cent said they were fairly fluent in English or French; and the balance or 13 per cent said that only English or French were spoken in the home.[90] Deutsch has contended that the attempts by the schools to deal with these problems are completely unrealistic.[91] In 1968, the University of Victoria sponsored a program, in co-operation with the Department of Indian Affairs, to overcome the problem. The concept was to provide a saturation language experience before entering school and during the early years (children from 3 to 4, 5 to 6,

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[88]Wayne Holm and Bernard Spolsky, "Literacy in the Vernacular: The Case of Navajo," Progress Report No. 8, Navajo Reading Study, the University of New Mexico, March, 1971.

[89]Deutsch, op. cit., pp. 78-83.

[90]MacLean and Jamieson, op. cit., p. 107.

[91]Deutsch, op. cit., pp. 78-83.

7 to 13). Objectives of the program were to increase quality and quantity of verbalization patterns, extend the knowledge of the structure of the English language, increase ability to comprehend and apply information and to enable pupils to analyze, synthesize and evaluate on the basis of the information gained. Similar type objectives were set up for the affective and psychomotor areas. Assessment of the program was made in various ways. Pre- and post-test measures were made of the language patterns. In all areas where a certain linguistic structure had been taught, significant improvement took place. When no specific objective was set out, little improvement was noted.[92] Mann found in a study of the effects of a language treatment program on two-year old children and their mothers that a structured language training program is effective in modifying the syntax style of the mothers and the pattern of verbal interaction between the mothers and the children.[93] The most widely discussed and publicized experiment is the Oral English program at Rough Rock, Arizona. The method used begins with the linguistic assumption that English is a language of rules,

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[92]MacLean and Jamieson, op. cit., p. 107.

[93]Marles Eckles Mann, "The Effect of a Language Program on Two-Year Old Children and Their Mothers," Unpublished doctoral dissertation, Arizona State University, 1971.

not just lists of patterns or vocabulary. The constant aim is the creation of syntactically correct, phonologically well-informed and meaningful sentences. Tests have shown that Rough Rock beginners improved 30 per cent in a year in their sentence-creating ability, while students at another reservation school have only gained 11 per cent. On individual oral tests of second-year English objectives, more than half scored 90 per cent or more and only 7 per cent scored less than 75 per cent.[94] The Research Department of the Board of Education of Toronto found that bilingualism (whatever the language) was not a disadvantage if the second language was learned at an early age, preferably pre-school. The bilingual child actually does better than his English monolingual classmates.[95]

Few school systems, in either the United States or Canada, have native language courses geared to the needs of the students who speak them at home.[96] Ohannessian reported that obtaining qualified teachers was a greater

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[94]Virginia Hoffman, Oral English at Rough Rock: A New Program for Navajo Children (Rough Rock, Arizona: Rough Rock Curriculum Centre, 1968), p. 9.

[95]Research Department, Board of Education for the City of Toronto, "Students of Non-Canadian Origin: The Relation of Language and Rural-Urban Background to Academic Achievement and Ability," Report No. 76, November, 1969, pp. 1-48.

[96]F. M. Cordasco, "The Challenge of the Non-English Speaking Child in American Schools," School and Society, XCVI (February, 1968), 198-201.

problem for the native peoples than it was for children whose background was a foreign language. He found that there were thirteen large and extensive language families among the American Indians.[97] Teaching the child effectively in his natural language requires using native speaking teachers, wherever possible.[98] In Nova Scotia schools, at the present time, there are only three teachers who speak the Micmac language, although in June, 1973, the "Micmac News" reported that three native-speaking teacher's aides had been hired by the federal school at Eskasoni.

Psychologists like Bereiter and Engelmann have suggested that deprived children during their pre-school training should be taught the language skill that they need to succeed at the tasks considered most important by the school system today. They argue that all else is secondary to the need for making it possible for the child to know and use the language of the school.[99] Critics

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[97]Ohannessian, op. cit., p. 76.

[98]Norman McLeod, "Need, Culture and Curriculum: Educating Immigrants and Ethnic Minorities," Research Department, Board of Education for the City of Toronto, October, 1968, p. 34.

[99]C. E. Bereiter and S. Engelmann, "Teaching Disadvantaged Children the Language of Instruction," Canadian Education and Research Digest, VIII (March, 1968), 68-72.

of Bereiter's approach maintain that any progress made towards helping a deprived child will not be permanent unless his family and the community is taken into consideration.[100]

Edwards maintains that if there is to be any successful solution to the language problem for the child it will have to be reached before he enters school and, perhaps, before kindergarten for most native children.[101] Hawthorn believes that if pre-school education were made available to Indian students and "if up-graded primary classes were introduced," it is possible that the "initial retardation might be overcome" and it would be possible to "avoid accumulating a deficit." Furthermore, for problems such as language, "if schools could offer remedial training to all children from Grade I on, it is possible that Indian children would benefit greatly and that age-grade retardation would be much reduced."[102] Some schools already do this like the pre-school pre-kindergarten orientation enrichment program sponsored by the University of Victoria in British Columbia,[103] and

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[100] Edward, op. cit., pp. 68-79.

[101] Ibid., p. 70.

[102] Hawthorn, op. cit., Vol. I, p. 133.

[103] C. Galloway et al., Orientation, Pre-School and Pre-Kindergarten Summer Programme for Indian Children, (Victoria, B.C.: University of Victoria, 1968), p. 108.

the bilingual family program carried out among the Cherokee people in Adair County, Oklahoma. One of the significant features was that the parents came to school every day and participated in adult activities, which increased their vocabulary in both English and Cherokee, improved English sentence structure and ability to read and write in English and Cherokee at elementary levels. For the children the objectives achieved were the setting up of a program which clearly defined the needs of the children in adapting to school. The program also concentrated on preparing the children linguistically. Equally important was the fact that parents were given responsible activities which permitted them to make decisions about themselves and their children and thus eliminated the alienation and distrust which too often is present when the school or the white authorities make all the decisions.[104]

The importance of continuing educational effort has been demonstrated by the short-lived gains obtained by Head Start programs and others which are imposed on the children by the school and do not involve the parents and the community. Turner studied a Head Start project that had operated for three summers in southeast Arkansas. He

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[104]South Central Region, Educational Laboratory, Bilingual Family School Project (Adair County, Oklahoma), Little Rock, Arkansas, 1969, p. 33.

found that for children who had gone into Grade I after a summer's experience in the Head Start program there was no significant difference in the mean of their S.R.A. Primary Mental Abilities Test than there was in the mean of the control group. For Grades II and III, similar results were obtained. Turner concluded that no lasting benefits in reading and mathematics "are likely to accrue to first-, second- and third-grade populations when exposed to Head Start programs similar to that considered in the study."[105] Wax and Wax surveyed other Head Start programs in a number of Indian communities and they too came up with a negative attitude towards such programs. Their major criticism was that such programs did not involve the parents and the community.[106] Ortiz, in a study of a Head Start program in San Juan, New Mexico, found that it did not appeal to traditional Indian people because other non-Indian groups were involved. They wanted a program suited to their particular needs.[107] Wax and Wax

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[105]Robert Edward Turner, "Academic Benefits Accruing to Head Start Participants Through Grade Three in an Eight-County Area of Southeast Arkansas," Unpublished doctoral dissertation, Northeast Louisiana University, 1970, derived from abstract.

[106]Wax and Wax, op. cit., pp. 27-28.

[107]Alfonso Ortiz, Project Head Start in an Indian Community (Chicago: [n.n.], 1965), pp. 28-34.

in their criticism of Head Start programs, indicated that scholastically they had some criticism of the programs but that for the most part they evaluated this aspect as being from good to excellent.[108]

Hill in evaluating a remedial summer reading program found that while there was improvement in vocabulary and reading ability, there was no gain in comprehension. The conclusion was that such short-term programs, while perhaps useful, were unlikely to have any permanent effects. What was needed was a massive long-term commitment closely related to the on-going classroom activities.[109] Such a commitment is found in the Talolah community school on the Quinault Reserve in the state of Washington. It is an elementary school serving children from pre-school to Grade VI. It offers a pre-school program which involves both nursery school and kindergarten, in "recognition of the fact that early experiences may have a significant effect on later I.Q."[110] The curriculum is designed to

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[108] Wax and Wax, op. cit., pp. 27-28.

[109] Charles H. Hill, "A Summer Reading Program with American Indians," Journal of American Indian Education, IX, 3(1970), 24-27.

[110] John Connelly and Ray Barnhardt, Community Background Reports, Talolah, Quinault Reservation, Washington National Study of American Indian Education, Series 1, No. 14, Final Report, Chicago, 1970, pp. 8-10.

take care of the problems which most concern the native children, chiefly, limited literacy experience and "externally imposed inferiority feelings." Within the class, students are grouped homogeneously on the basis of achievement level in each subject, but the arrangement is flexible so that the class is regrouped for each subject and a student may move to another group when he improves. However, the whole class approach is used in social studies, science and art, spelling, writing, and physical education. There are also auxiliary services such as remedial reading where the child gets help from the remedial teacher for half an hour a day for five days a week and is, therefore, not separated too long from his peers. The school runs an evening study hall for two nights a week and also has an Indian counsellor who acts as liaison between the school and parents. There is an Education counsellor who is employed for individual students and their families and acts as liaison between the community and off-reservation schools and is involved with the young people on work and recreation projects. The Talolah Community school is recognized as one of the ten best elementary schools in the country and is a completely controlled Indian school with a five-man, all-Indian school board.[111]

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[111]Connelly and Barnhardt, op. cit., p. 36.

Yet, even this school has its problems. When native children reach the end of Grade VI they have to transfer to off-reservation schools; and just as in Nova Scotia and other parts of Canada, this transition period constitutes a difficult process and results in a dropout rate of 75 per cent.[112] Hawthorn classes this transition at adolescence as being a crucial point where "the Indian youth is faced with a dilemma which he cannot resolve. He is forced to choose between being an Indian or an 'Indian white'."[113]

Bryde in his study of Oglala Sioux students found that while they achieved above national norms, until about the seventh grade, then a strange phenomena occurred which he called the "cross-over phenomenon." It was at this point that many native children were making a transfer from a reserve school situation to a provincial or community school in which whites were integrated, supposedly, with the native peoples. Bryde attributes the high dropout rate which occurred at this point to value conflict. In addition, there was the psychological turmoil which is associated with adolescence. When compounded with the cultural value conflict in school, it produced a considerable

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[112] Ibid., p. 37.

[113] Hawthorn, op. cit., Vol. I, p. 126.

amount of alienation which, in turn, resulted in the lack of school achievement and, finally, the decision to dropout.[114]

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[114] Bryde, op. cit., p. 20.

Chapter 4

DESIGN OF THE STUDY

Sources of Data

The information for the study was obtained from two basic sources.

One source was the actual enrolments of native children for the years 1971-72 and 1972-73 for all grades for all schools in Nova Scotia. This information has been provided by the Education Division of the Department of Indian Affairs and Northern Development in Halifax. The material does not reveal any information about the number of children who were retained in Grade I during the school year, 1971-72. Neither does it provide any facts as to their school history, home language or even a separation by boys and girls. Its major value is the fact that its totals constitute parameters on a grade basis. These grade totals can be compared with those in a grade for a year earlier and for a year later. Some indication as to movement and retention can be seen in these comparisons; but it does not provide an accurate record of retention even for the grade, let alone an accurate figure of individuals in Grade I.

The second source is the school record of each individual native student listed in Grade I for 1971-72

in all schools in Nova Scotia where native students attend. To determine which schools have native children enrolled in Grade I in 1971-72, it was only necessary to refer to the enrolment lists of the Department of Indian Affairs and Northern Development. By discussing each individual child with either the principal or teacher, or both, it was possible to obtain family history as well as the school record and pre-Grade I orientation.

Procedure

The method used in the study was a descriptive survey technique.

All of the elementary schools, either federal or provincial, were checked against the enrolment records of the Department of Indian Affairs and Northern Development to determine the location of native children in Grade I in schools throughout the province.

A visit was made to every school where an Indian child was found in Grade I and interviews were conducted with the school principal, and the teachers of Grade I and II.

To obtain the maximum degree of co-operation with the principals and teachers, a letter of introduction from the Vice-President of the Union of Nova Scotia Indians, Chief John Knockwood, of the Shubenacadie band, was shown at each school. With this credential, no

difficulty was encountered in obtaining the necessary information about each child. This letter is to be found in the Appendix as Item A.

The first question asked was the names of all Indian children who were in Grade I in 1971-72. The next question asked was which of these children were moved into Grade II or its equivalent in September, 1972, and which children were retained in Grade I for another year. Further questions were asked about each child as to their school starting age, length of time spent in Grade I, and the language used in the home.

This information was transferred to an individual chart for each child. A specimen of the chart is to be found in the Appendix as Item B.

From these individual charts which also record the school attended, specific tables were constructed. This material constitutes the data of the study.

Population Size

The final population size was not determined until the survey by personal visit to all the elementary schools contacted was completed. These schools were those which showed an enrolment of a native student in Grade I during the school year 1971-72, according to the records of the Department of Indian Affairs and Northern Development. It was not expected that the enrolment would

be the final figure used in the findings because of the possible changes from school to school, due to sickness, accident or movement out of the province. The final total used in the population represents 100 per cent of the possible total student population in Grade I in the Province of Nova Scotia.

Statistical Methods Used

As the group used, in effect, represents the total population available for this study, no statistical procedures were necessary to attest to the validity of the findings. All raw data has been changed into percentages. When a comparison is made between two percentages, a statistical check has been carried out to determine if there is a significant relationship.

Chapter 5

FINDINGS AND ANALYSIS OF DATA

Introduction

The findings which were obtained from the fourteen federal and provincial schools in Nova Scotia have been analyzed and presented in the simplest form possible. Ten tables have been utilized to complement the analysis of the findings. All numerical information has been expressed into percentages with a few minor exceptions.

A test of statistical significance has been used in connection with the comparison of percentages between children having two, one or no years of pre-Grade I orientation. A similar test has been used in comparing the percentages be ween federal and provincial schools.

Analysis of the Findings as a Whole

It was found that the total enrolment of native children in Grade I in 1971-72 in federal and provincial schools in Nova Scotia was one hundred and thirty-four according to the records of the Education Branch of the Department of Indian Affairs and Northern Development, Halifax, Nova Scotia.

It was found that these children were attending three federal schools and eleven provincial schools.

A visit to all fourteen schools, at least once, verified the total of one hundred and thirty-four, although a number of the children had moved from the schools in which they had been originally listed.

It has been stated that the purpose of this study was to determine the number of children who were retained in Grade I or its equivalent for an additional year.

It was found that ninety-six children or 72 per cent of the Grade I population had been moved out of Grade I and into Grade II or its equivalent level in September, 1972.

It was also found that thirty-eight native children or 28 per cent of the Grade I population were retained in Grade I as of September, 1972.

A close check was made of every child's record; and in cases where a youngster was found to be doing Grade II mathematics but reading at Grade I level, the child was considered as being retained for another year in Grade I. This measure was taken as a precaution against weighting the figures too favourably in those schools which had just introduced the non-graded system.

Table 1 shows total number of children who were moved into Grade II in September, 1972, and the number who were retained in Grade I in September, 1972, as well as the breakdown for each individual school .

Table 1

Number of Children Moved to Grade II and Number Retained in Grade I*

Name of School	Number of Children Moved into Grade II in September, 1972	Number of Children Retained in Grade I in September, 1972
North Queen's	1	0
Baddeck (Provincial)	1	2
Cambridge (Provincial)	1	0
Eskasoni (Federal)	42	9
Johnstown (Provincial)	2	1
Nyanza (Federal)	7	1
Oakdene, Bear River (Provincial)	2	1
St. Mary's, Truro (Provincial)	0	3
St. Anthony Daniel, Sydney (Provincial)	7	0
St. John's, New Glasgow	3	2
Shubenacadie (Provincial)	15	15
Tracadie, N. S. (Provincial)	1	3
Whycocomagh, N. S. (Federal)	10	1
Whycocomagh (Provincial)	4	0
	96	38

*A detailed analysis will be found on pages 94-99.

Findings on Sub-Problem No. 1

This problem asked the question as to the repeat rate of Indian children in an elementary school in Nova Scotia where an Indian student enters Grade I without previous school orientation. It was found that out of the one hundred and thirty-four children in Grade I in 1971-72, only thirty children or 22.4 per cent had entered Grade I without previous school orientation. All thse children except one had been retained in Grade I for periods of two to three years. On this basis the repeat rate could be established at 96.6 per cent. It was also found while twenty-nine children out of thirty without previous school experience had been retained in Grade I, the number who had been retained for another year starting in September, 1972, was eleven. On this basis the repeat rate could be set at 36.6 per cent.

Findings on Sub-Problem No. 2

This problem raised the question as to the repeat rate of Indian children in an elementary school in Nova Scotia where an Indian student enters Grade I with one year of pre-Grade I orientation. It was found that fifty-four children had been given one year of pre-Grade I orientation and of this number a total of twenty-five children had been retained in Grade I for periods of two to three years. On this basis, the repeat rate could be established at 46.5 per

cent. It was also found that while twenty-five children out of fifty-four with only one year of pre-Grade I orientation had been retained in Grade I, the number who had been retained for another year starting in September, 1972, was twelve. On this basis the repeat rate could be set at 22.2 per cent.

Findings on Sub-Problem No. 3

This problem raised the question as to the repeat rate of Indian children in an elementary school in Nova Scotia where an Indian student enters Grade I with two years of pre-Grade I orientation. It was found that a total of fifty children out of the Grade I population of one hundred and thirty-four or 37 per cent had two years of pre-Grade I orientation. A total of sixteen out of the fifty children had been retained in Grade I. On this basis, the repeat rate could be established at 32 per cent. It was also found that while sixteen children out of fifty had been retained in Grade I, the number who had been retained for another year, starting in September, 1972, was fifteen. On this basis, the repeat rate could be set at 30 per cent.

Statistical Significance of Findings

A comparison was made between the three percentages found as the repeat rates for native children with no

pre-Grade I orientation, with one year of pre-Grade I orientation and with two years of pre-Grade I orientation for the school year 1971-1972. The following formula was used:

$$SE_{D\%} = \sqrt{P \times Q\left(\frac{1}{N_1} + \frac{1}{N_2}\right)}$$

Step One. A pooled estimate of the percentages in the first two groups was obtained by the formula:

$$P = \frac{N_1 \times P_1 + N_2 \times P_2}{N_1 + N_2}$$

$P = 27.3\%$ $\quad$ $Q = (1 - P) = 72.7\%$

Step Two. Use $SE_{D\%}$ formula.

$$SE_{D\%} = \sqrt{27.3 \times 72.7 \left(\frac{1}{30} + \frac{1}{54}\right)}$$

$$= 10.139$$

D = difference between the two percentages

$= 36.6\% - 22.2\% = 14.4\%$

t + 14.4 divided by 10.139 = 1.40

The df is 82. The t at the .05 level is between 1.671 and 1.658 and for the .01 level it is between 2.390 and 2.358.

The critical ratio of 1.40 fails to reach even the smallest of these values and hence must be classified

as not significant. The null hypothesis is therefore accepted and it is concluded that on the present evidence there is no real difference between the repeat percentage figures for native children who have had no years of pre-school orientation and those children who have had one year of pre-school orientation.

Comparison of Percentages of Children who have had one year of pre-grade I orientation and the percentages of children who have had two years of pre-grade I orientation.

Step One. Pooled estimates of the percentages in the two groups, using formula:

$$P = \frac{N_1 \times P_1 + N_2 \times P_2}{N_1 + N_2}$$

$$p = \frac{54 \times 22.2\% + 50 \times 30\%}{54 + 50}$$

$$P = 25.95$$

$$Q = (1 - P) = 74.05$$

Step Two. Use $SE_{D\%}$ formula.

$$SE_{D\%} = \sqrt{25.95 \times 74.05\left(\frac{1}{54} + \frac{1}{50}\right)}$$

$$= 8.60$$

D = (the difference between the two percentages)

30% - 22.2% = 7.8%

t = 7.8 divided by 8.60 = .91

The df is 102 and the t at the .05 level is between 1.671 and 1.658 and for the .01 level it is between 2.390 and 2.358.

The critical ratio of .91 fails to reach even the smallest of these values and hence must be classified as not significant. The null hypothesis is therefore accepted and it is concluded that on the present evidence there is no real difference between the repeat percentage figures for native children who have had one year of pre-Grade I orientation and those children who have had two years of pre-Grade I orientation. This conclusion only applies to the specific study which has been reported and in particular to the findings which limited itself to the number of children who were retained in Grade I for another year starting in September 1972.

Comparison of percentages of children who have had no years of pre-grade I orientation and the percentages of children who have had two years of pre-grade I orientation.

Step One. Pooled estimate of the percentages of the two groups, using formula:

$$P = \frac{N_1 \times P_1 + N_2 \times P_2}{N_1 + N_2}$$

$$= \frac{30 \times 36.6\% + 50 \times 30\%}{30 + 50}$$

$P = 32.47$ $\quad Q = 67.53$

Step Two. Use $SE_{D\%}$ formula.

$$SE_{D\%} = 10.81$$

The df is 78

D = 36.6% - 30% = 6.6%

t = 6.6 divided by 10.81 = .61

The t at the .05 level is between 1.671 and 1.658 and at the .01 level it is between 2.390 and 2.358. The critical ratio of .61 fails to reach even the smallest of these values and hence must be classified as not significant. The null hypothesis is therefore accepted and it is concluded that on the present evidence there is no real difference statistically between the repeat percentage figures for native children who have no years of pre-Grade I orientation and the percentage figures for native children who have had two years of pre-Grade I orientation. This conclusion only applies to the specific study which has been reported and in particular to the findings which limited itself to the number of children who were retained in Grade I for another year starting in September 1972.

Comparison of percentages of children who have had no years of pre-grade I orientation and percentages of children who have had one year of pre-grade I orientation when such comparisons are not limited to the school year 1971-1972 but encompasses the complete record of the children in grade I.

Step One. $P = \frac{30 \times 96.6 + 46.5 \times 54}{30 + 54}$

P = 64.39 Q = 35.61

D = 96.6 - 46.5 = 50.1%

Step Two. Use $SE_{D\%}$ formula.

$$SE_{D\%} = \sqrt{64.39 \times 35.61 \left(\frac{1}{30} + \frac{1}{54}\right)}$$

$$= 10.90$$

$$t = 50.1 \text{ divided by } 10.90 = 4.60$$

The df is 82 and the t at the .05 level is between 1.671 and 1.658 and for the .01 level it is between 2.390 and 2.358.

The critical ratio of 4.60 goes far beyond even the largest of the two values and therefore, this critical ratio of 4.60 must be considered as significant.

In this case, the null hypothesis cannot be accepted and it must be concluded that there is a significant difference, between the percentages of those children who have had no years of pre-Grade I orientation and the percentages of those children who have had one year of pre-Grade I orientation when the complete record of the time spent by all children in Grade I is evaluated.

Comparison of percentages of children who have had one year of pre-grade I orientation and the percentages of children who have had two years of pre-grade I orientation, when such comparisons are not limited to the school year 1971-1972 but encompasses the complete record of the children in Grade I.

Step One. $$P = \frac{46.5\% \times 54 + 32\% \times 50}{54 + 50}$$

$$= 39.53$$

$$Q = 60.47\%$$

Step Two. Use $SE_{D\%}$ formula.

$$SE_{D\%} = \sqrt{60.47 \times 39.53 \left(\frac{1}{54} + \frac{1}{50}\right)}$$

$$= 9.59$$

$$D = 46.5 - 32 = 13.5\%$$

$$t = 13.5 \text{ divided by } 9.60 = 1.41$$

The df is 102 and the t at the .05 level is between 1.671 and 1.658 and for the .01 level it is between 2.390 and 2.358.

The critical value of 1.41 fails to reach even the smallest of these values and hence must be classified as not statistically significant. The null hypothesis is therefore accepted and it is concluded that on the present evidence there is no real difference statistically between the repeat percentage figures for native children who have had one year of pre-Grade I orientation and the percentage figures for native children who have had two years of pre-Grade I orientation. This conclusion applies in this particular study, even when the comparisons are not limited to the school year 1971-1972 but encompass the complete record of the children in Grade I.

Comparison of percentages of children who have had no years of pre-grade I orientation and the percentages of children who have had two years of pre-grade I orientation, when such comparisons are not limited to the school year 1971-1972 but encompass the complete record of the children in Grade I.

Step One. $P = \frac{30 \times 96.6\% + 50 \times 32\%}{30 + 50}$

$= 56.22$

$Q = 43.78$

Step Two. Use $SE_{D\%}$ formula.

$$SE_{D\%} = \sqrt{56.22 \times 43.78 \left(\frac{1}{30} + \frac{1}{50}\right)}$$

$= 11.45$

$D = 96.6 - 32 = 64.6$

$t = 64.6$ divided by $11.45 = 5.64$

The df is 78 and the t at the .05 level is between 1.671 and 1.658 and for the .01 level it is between 2.390 and 2.358.

The critical ratio of 5.64 goes far beyond even the larger of the two values and therefore this critical ratio of 5.64 must be considered as significant.

In this case, the null hypothesis cannot be accepted and it must be conluded that there is a significant difference between the percentages of those children who have had no years of pre-Grade I orientation and the percentages of those children who have had two years of pre-Grade I orientation when the complete record of the time spent by all children in Grade I is evaluated.

Findings on Sub-Problem No. 4

This problem asked the question as to the differences in the repeat rate of Indian students who attended a federal school and Indian students who attended a provincial elementary school. It was found that with the exception of Shubenacadie, on the mainland, and Eskasoni, in Cape Breton, none of the other schools reported a Grade I population of Indian children which was large enough to provide an adequate sample. Table 1 shows the numerical differences between the schools.

Shubenacadie is a provincial elementary school, just outside the Micmac Reserve, in the village of Shubenacadie. It is a school set up on a non-graded basis, at least in principle. The extent to which it has been successful in making this system work still has to be determined. The total school population is about 475 children, including 130 Indian children from the Micmac Reserve. In Grade I, there were thirty children during the year 1971-72. In September, 1972, fifteen children or 50 per cent were promoted to the equivalent of the Grade II level, while fifteen children or 50 per cent were retained for another year to do work at the equivalent of Grade I level.

In the largest all-Indian school in the Province of Nova Scotia, the Eskasoni Federal School, it is also

claimed that they are now on a non-graded set-up.

In analyzing the figures for Eskasoni, it was apparent that the new policy talked about in the brief of the Department of Indian Affairs and Northern Development had begun to take effect. This was the policy of moving children through the early grades so they could keep pace with their peers (Appendix C). It was found that of the fifty-one children in the Eskasoni school in Grade I during 1971-72, a total of eight children or 16 per cent of all the children in Grade I were moved ahead to Grade II or its equivalent level after spending three full years in Grade I. It was further found that sixteen other children or 31 per cent had spent two full years in Grade I and were moved ahead to Grade II or its equivalent level in September, 1972. Looked at another way, however, if these totals were deducted from the number of children who were moved ahead to Grade II, the number promoted in September, 1972, would have been reduced to eighteen children or 36 per cent. This more clearly reflects the old pattern which existed in the school before the new policy came into effect and before the school adopted the non-graded system and recognized that each student should be permitted to proceed at his or her own pace.

In comparing these two schools it was found that if the figures from Shubenacadie were taken at face value then the repeat rate at that school for Grade I was 50 per cent, while the repeat rate for Eskasoni was 17.6 per cent. This represented the actual number of children who were retained in Grade I starting in September, 1972. On this basis, it would appear that there is a considerable difference in favour of the federal school over the provincial school. However, as has been indicated, a large number of children in the Eskasoni school had been retained in Grade I for two to three years before being moved into Grade II. This number totalled thirty-three and if this figure had been used then the repeat rate for this school would have been 65 per cent. Similarly, the total number of children who had been retained in Shubenacadie school was sixteen and the repeat rate would then have been 53 per cent. On this basis there would have been a difference in favour of the provincial school.

Statistical Significance of Findings of Sub-Problem No. 4

Name of School	Procedure One Repeat Rate Using Grade I Population	Procedure Two Repeat Rate Using Only Children Who Did Not Move into Grade II in September, 1972
Shubenacadie Elementary Provincial School	53%	50%
Eskasoni Elementary Federal School	65%	17.6%

Comparison between percentages of repeat rate, using total Grade I population.

Step One. Pooled estimate of the percentages in the two groups.

$$P = \frac{30 \times 53\% + 51 \times 65\%}{30 + 51}$$

$$= 60.5$$

$$Q = (1 - P) = 39.5$$

Step Two. $SE_{D\%}$ formula.

$$SE_{D\%} = \sqrt{60.25 \times 39.5 \left(\frac{1}{30} + \frac{1}{51}\right)}$$

$$= 11.24$$

$$D = 65 - 53 = 12$$

$$t = 12 \text{ divided by } 11.24 = 1.07$$

The df is 79 and the t at the .05 level is between 1.671 and 1.658 and for the .01 level it is between 2.39 and 2.358. Our critical ratio of 1.07 fails to reach even

the smaller of these two values and hence must be classified as not statistically significant. The null hypothesis is therefore accepted and it is concluded that on the present evidence there is no real difference between the repeat percentage figures for native children who attend Eskasoni elementary federal school and the repeat percentage figures for the native children who attend Shubenacadie elementary provincial school, when the total Grade I population is evaluated.

Comparison between percentages of repeat rate using only children who did not move into grade II in September 1972.

Step One. Pooled estimate of the percentages in the two groups.

$$P = \frac{30 \times 50\% + 51 \times 17.6\%}{30 + 51}$$

$$= 29.6$$

$$Q = (1 - P) = 70.4$$

Step Two. Use $SE_{D\%}$ formula.

$$SE_{D\%} = \sqrt{29.6 \times 70.4 \left(\frac{1}{30} + \frac{1}{51}\right)}$$

$$= 10.50$$

$$D = 50 - 17.6 = 32.4$$

$$t = 32.4 \text{ divided by } 10.50 = 3.086$$

The df is 79 and the t at the .05 level is between 1.671 and 1.658 and for the .01 level it is between 2.390 and 2.358.

The critical value of 3.086 exceeds even the larger of the two values and therefore this critical ratio of 3.086 must be considered as statistically significant.

In this case the null hypothesis cannot be accepted and it must be concluded that there is a significant difference, statistically, between the repeat percentage figures for the native children who have attended the Eskasoni elementary federal school and the repeat percentage figures for the native children who have attended the Shubenacadie elementary provincial school when the comparison is based on only those children who did not move into Grade II in September 1972.

Findings on Sub-Problem No. 5

This problem raised the question as to what evidence had been found which suggests that there is a relationship between the repeat rate of Indian children in the first grade to the use of their native language. It was found that of the thirty-eight children or 28 per cent of the total Grade I population who had been retained in Grade I starting in September, 1972, a total of twenty-four children or 63 per cent of the children who had been retained came from homes where the language of common usage was Micmac. A further four children or 10 per cent who were retained came from homes where Micmac and English was used in that order.

It was found that for the province as a whole, eighty-three children or 62 per cent came from Indian-speaking homes; another eighteen children or 13 per cent reported an Indian-English speaking home, while thirty-three children or 25.6 per cent said that their parents used English in the home.

There was a distinct difference in the figures found for the two major reserves. Children from the Micmac reserve attending the first grade at the Shubenacadie District Elementary School reported that out of a total of thirty homes, only three now used Micmac as the language of the home. A total of ten children or 33.3 per cent indicated that in their homes a mixture of Indian and English was spoken. The overall majority, however, some seventeen children, stated that the language chiefly used in their home was English.

One of the major reasons for the influence of English was the proximity of the reserve to major centres like Halifax and Dartmouth and Truro, coupled with the greater mobility of the native people themselves. Another factor was the introduction of a nursery school for four- and five-year olds, which is run by the Catholic Church located on the reserve. Formerly, the whole school had been operated by the teaching sisters; but there had been no early pre-Grade I orientation.

Johnston, a Micmac student at the School of Social Work at Dalhousie University, found that in 1970 the number of families speaking Micmac had declined under the impact of students coming in contact with non-Indians,[1] with the increase of the younger people who were more interested in their children learning to speak English than in holding onto their Micmac language.[2]

In August, 1971, this problem of the decline of the Micmac language was discussed in detail at a conference held on the Micmac reserve, Shubenacadie, in which young Indian people from all parts of the Province expressed their views on the value of their language and the possibility of incorporating it into the educational system either in federal or provincial schools. Opinions ranged from "I never learned to talk Indian. Some children from different reserves tried grade one and couldn't talk English too well, so the teachers wouldn't pass them" to "I think the Indians on the reserves should be taught their language first. They have to be taught before they go to school. If English only is taught, wouldn't it be hard for the youths when

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[1]Gregory Johnston, "Welfare Dependency on an Indian Reserve," Unpublished thesis for degree of Master of Social Work at the Maritime School of Social Work, Dalhousie University, Halifax, April, 1971, pp. 64-65.

[2]Ibid., p. 65.

they started? We attend schools with non-Indians and their main language is English, so we have no choice."[3]

In Eskasoni, which is much more isolated than Shubenacadie, though only twenty-six miles from Sydney, the situation is entirely different from Shubenacadie. Some forty-three children out of fifty-one or 84 per cent reported that in their homes the common language was Micmac. Only three children or 5 per cent said that their parents spoke English in the home while eight children or 16 per cent stated that their language was a mixture of Indian and English spoken in the home.

The importance of the language spoken or used in the home has been well described by Dr. Robert Young and his associates in the Reading Study research which is being conducted at the University of New Mexico.[4] His finding that many native children are unfamiliar with the language of instruction is confirmed by the situation which existed in the first grade of Eskasoni school and resulted in the two- and three-year retention periods suffered by many children. A pattern can be seen in the

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[3]Micmac Education Seminar, Shubenacadie Reserve, August 5-6, 1971, p. 9.

[4]R. Young, Navajo Reading Study, University of New Mexico, p. 16.

language which is used in the other schools. For those schools which are located close to major centres, it was found that the first-grade students, for the most part, spoke English in the home as the common language. St. Anthony Daniel, in Sydney, with seven of the seven children reporting English as the language of the home and six out of seven children moving through Grade I to Grade II without retention in Grade I is a good example and St. Mary's, in Truro, is another school where English is the language of usage in the home.

In schools which are isolated or close to small communities where there is not much opportunity for interchange or communication, it was found that the children attending integrated provincial schools chiefly came from homes where the language spoken was Micmac or a mixture of Micmac and English. This was particularly true of Baddeck, Johnstown, Tracadie, Whycocomagh Consolidated, as well as the federal schools at Whycocomagh and Nyanza or Middle River where the language of the home was reported to be solidly Micmac. In both these federal schools, the new policy referred to earlier was found to be working in an effective manner. At Nyanza, some eight out of nine children in the first grade during 1971-72 were reported to have been moved into Grade II in September, 1972. Equally impressive was the fact that the eight children who had moved through without retention

in Grade I had all started school at five years of age. The child who was being retained had started school when he was six years old. Included in this group was one child who had come to the pre-Grade I orientation sessions with no knowledge of English at all. To indicate his progress the principal requested the teacher to have the child show the researcher his work books over the past year. These were all checked carefully and based on any standard they substantiated his record.

At Whycocomagh, a total of eleven out of eleven children reported that they came from homes where the first language was Micmac. Eight of them had started school at five years of age while two had commenced at four years, while only one had started school at six years of age. Even he, however, had taken one year in primary before going into Grade I, and he had been successful in moving ahead to Grade II in September, 1972. Nine of the eleven children in this school or 82 per cent were able to move into Grade II without retention in Grade I.

Table 2 shows a division by schools of the language most commonly used in the home by parents of the children used in the project. The data has been obtained by the schools, either from the children or from the parents directly.

Table 2

A Breakdown by Schools of the Language Most Commonly Used in the Home by Parents of the Children in Grade I

Schools	Indian	Indian-English	English	Totals
North Queen's	0	0	1	1
Baddeck	3	0	0	3
Cambridge	0	1	0	1
Eskasoni	43	5	3	51
Johnstown	3	0	0	3
Nyanza	8	0	0	8
Oakdene	0	1	2	3
St. Anthony Daniel	0	0	7	7
St. John's	5	0	0	5
St. Mary's	0	0	3	3
Shubenacadie	3	10	17	30
Tracadie	4	0	0	4
Whycocomagh-Consol.	3	1	0	4
Whycocomagh-Fed.	11	0	0	11
Totals	83	18	33	134

Number of Children Starting Pre-Grade I Orientation at Age Four

An analysis was made of all native children who started some form of pre-Grade I orientation at the age of four years. The details of this analysis by school and by sex are listed in Table 3. It was found that a total of thirty-four children or 25 per cent had been able to move into Grade II or an equivalent level without being retained in Grade I. Some two-thirds of this group were girls and one-third were boys.

It was found that there was only one child in this group who had been retained for a year in Grade I before being moved into Grade II or its equivalent in September, 1972.

The number of children who were not moved into Grade II from Grade I in September, 1972, was fifteen or 11 per cent of the Grade I population. Half of these children were boys and half were girls.

It was found that the total number of children who entered some form of pre-Grade I activity at the age of four was fifty or 37 per cent of the grade population.

Number of Children Starting Pre-Grade I Orientation at Age Five

An analysis was made of all native children who started some form of pre-Grade I orientation at the age

Table 3

Children Who Started Pre-Grade I Orientation at Age Four

School	A		B		C		Total
	Boys	Girls	Boys	Girls	Boys	Girls	
Cambridge (P)	1						1
Eskasoni (F)	5	10	1		2	3	21
Oakdene (P)		1					1
St. John's (P)		1					1
St. Anthony (P)		5					5
St. Mary's (P)					2		2
Shubenacadie (P)	5	4				6	15
Tracadie,N.S.(F)						2	2
Whycocomagh (F)	1	1	-	-	-	-	2
	12	22	1	0	4	11	50

Legend: P - Provincial

F - Federal

Column A represents the children who moved into Grade II without being retained.

Column B represents the children who moved into Grade II after being retained in Grade I.

Column C represents the children who were retained in Grade I and did not move into Grade II in September, 1972.

of five years. The details of this analysis by school and by sex are listed in Table 4.

It was found that a total of fifty-five children or 40 per cent of the Grade I population were in this group. Of this total twenty-nine children or 22 per cent were able to move through to Grade II without being retained in Grade I. Nearly three-quarters of these children were girls.

Another thirteen children or 10 per cent were found to have been retained in Grade I before being moved into Grade II in September, 1972. Two-thirds of these children were boys.

A total of twelve children or 9 per cent were retained in Grade I starting in September, 1972. Of this number, ten children or 7 per cent were being retained for the second year while two children or 1 per cent were being retained for the third year.

Number of Children Starting Grade I at Six Years of Age

An analysis was made of all native children who started Grade I at six years of age. It was found that none of these children had any pre-Grade I orientation but went directly into Grade I. A total of twenty-three children or 17 per cent were found in this group. Details by school and sex are listed in Table 5.

Table 4

Children Who Started Pre-Grade I Orientation at Five Years of Age

School	Moved to Grade II		Retention Then Moved to Grade II		Retained in Grade I for 2nd Year		Retained in Grade I for 3rd Year	
	Boys	Girls	Boys	Girls	Boys	Girls	Boys	Girls
North Queen's	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Baddeck	0	0	1	0	2	0	0	0
Eskasoni	0	2	5	2	0	0	0	1
Johnstown	0	2	0	0	1	0	0	0
Nyanza	3	4	0	0	0	0	0	0
Oakdene	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0
St. Mary's	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0
St. John's	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	1
St. Anthony	1	0	1	0	0	0	0	0
Shubenacadie	2	3	1	0	3	1	0	0
Tracadie, N. S.	0	1	0	0	0	1	0	0
Whycocomagh,Cons.	0	4	0	0	0	0	0	0
Whycocomagh, Fed.	1	4	0	2	1	0	0	0
	8	21	9	4	7	3	0	2

Table 5

Children Who Started School at Age Six

School	No. Retention		Retention 2 Years Then Moved		Retention 3 Years Then Moved		To be Retained 2 Years		To be Retained 3 Years		Totals
	Boys	Girls	Boys	Girls	Boys	Girls	Boys	Girls	Boys	Girls	
Baddeck	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Eskasoni	0	0	2	4	3	3	1	0	1	0	14
Johnstown	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Nyanza	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	1
Oakdene	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	1
St. Mary's	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
St. John's	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	2
St. Anthony	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Shubenacadie	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	2	1	0	4
Tra[illegible]die	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Whyco[illegible]magh	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1
	0	1	3	4	3	3	4	2	3	0	23

It was found that only one child was able to go through to Grade II without being retained in Grade I.

A total of seven children or 5 per cent were moved into Grade II after being retained for two years in Grade I. A further six children or 4 per cent were retained in Grade I for three years before being moved.

A number of children were retained in Grade I starting September, 1972. The total being retained for the second year was six or 4 per cent while the number being retained for the third year was three or 2 per cent.

Number of Children Who Started Grade I at the Age of Seven and Eight

It was found that there were four children or 3 per cent of the Grade I population who had started Grade I at the age of seven. None of them had been able to proceed through Grade I without being retained. One child was moved from Grade I into Grade II after being retained for two years. Two others or 1 per cent were moved into Grade II after being retained for three years in Grade I. It was also found that one other child who had started Grade I at the age of seven was being retained for his second year in this grade.

The number of children who started school at the age of eight totalled three or 2 per cent. In this group, it was found that the three children came from the

Eskasoni federal school. One boy was moved into Grade II after two years in Grade I while a girl was moved into Grade II after spending three years in Grade I. One boy was found to be retained for his third year in Grade I.

Further details as to school and sex are listed in Table 6 and Table 7.

Table 6

Children Who Started School at Age Seven

School	Retained for 2 Years then Moved		Retained for 3 Years then Moved		To be Retained for 2nd Year		To be Retained for 3rd Year	
	Boys	Girls	Boys	Girls	Boys	Girls	Boys	Girls
Eskasoni	1	0	0	2	0	0	0	0
Shubenacadie	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0
Total	1	0	0	2	0	1	0	0

Table 7

Children Who Started School at Age Eight

School	Retained for 2 Years then Moved		Retained for 3 Years then Moved		To be Retained for 2nd Year		To be Retained for 3rd Year	
	Boys	Girls	Boys	Girls	Boys	Girls	Boys	Girls
Eskasnni	1	0	0	1	0	0	1	0
Total	1	0	0	1	0	0	1	0

Chapter 6

SUMMARY OF FINDINGS, CONCLUSIONS, RECOMMENDATIONS AND FUTURE RESEARCH

The most significant finding was that ninety-six children of the total of one hundred and thirty-four in Grade I had been moved into Grade II or an equivalent program in September 1972. On a percentage basis, this meant that 72 per cent had been moved into Grade II while 28 per cent were retained in Grade I for another year, starting in September, 1972.

It was found, moreover, that out of the total of one hundred and thirty-four children, sixty-four or 48 per cent had never been retained at any level prior to being moved into Grade II.

In reverse, however, it was found that seventy children or 52 per cent had been retained for at least their second year.

The Amount of Retention in Grade I

It was found that information could be derived from the data which would tell the number of children who had been retained in Grade I for two years and were then moved into Grade II or the equivalent level in September, 1972. This figure represented twenty-three children and

17 per cent of the total Grade I population.

The number of children who had been retained for three years before being moved from Grade I into Grade II in September 1972 was found to total nine and represented 6.5 per cent of the Grade I population.

The total of the children who had been in Grade I for a year and would spend a second year in that grade or its equivalent level, starting in September, 1972, was found to be thirty and represented about 22 per cent of the Grade I population.

Finally, the number of children who had been in Grade I for two years and who would spend a third year in Grade I, starting in September, 1972, was found to total eight children or 6.0 per cent of the Grade I population. The detailed breakdown for each school for each of the four groups was incorporated into Table 8.

Summary of Sub-Problems 1, 2, and 3

Sub-Problem	Repeat Rate Using Total Grade I Population	Repeat Rate Using Only Children Who Did Not Move into Grade II in September, 1972
#1	96.6%	36.6%
#2	46.5%	22.2%
#3	32.0%	30.0%

Table 8

Analysis of Retention

School	Number Retained in Grade I for 2 Years and then Moved into Grade II	Number Retained in Grade I for 3 Years and then Moved into Grade II	Number of Children Being Retained in Grade I for	
			Second Year	Third Year
North Queen's	0	0	0	0
Baddeck	1	0	2	0
Cambridge	0	0	0	0
Eskasoni	15	9	6	3
Johnstown	0	0	1	0
Nyanza	0	0	1	0
Oakdene, Bear River	0	0	1	0
St. Mary's, Truro	0	0	3	0
St. John's, New Glasgow	3	0	0	2
St. Anthony, Sydney	1	0	0	0
Shubenacadie	1	0	14	1
Tracadie, N. S.	0	0	1	2
Whycocomagh-Federal	2	0	1	0
Whycocomagh-Consol.	0	0	0	0
Totals	23	9	30	8

No significant statistical differences were found between the repeat rates for sub-problems #1, 2, and 3 when the repeat rates (in percentages) using only children who did not move into Grade II in September, 1972 were compared.

A significant statistical difference was found between the repeat rate (in percentages) for sub-problems #1 and #2 and #1 and #3, when the repeat rates for the total Grade I population were compared. No significant statistical difference was found between the repeat rates for sub-problems #2 and #3 when these were compared.

School Starting Age or Commencement of Pre-Grade I Orientation

One of the major assumptions underlying the hypothesis of this project is that the earlier that a native child can come into contact with the schooling system of the white culture the greater will be his chance of survival.

In the past, few native children ever had the opportunity to start early enough so that he could develop the early skills and attitudes demanded by the system. According to the Indian Act,[1] 'an act respecting Indians'

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[1]Indian Act, R.S.C., 1952, c 149, Department of Indian Affairs and Northern Development, p. 37.

revised in 1952 and subsequently amended a number of times, the education of Indian children comes under the authorization of the Minister of the Department responsible for the native peoples. Section 115(1) states that: (1) Subject to section 116, every child who has attained the age of seven years shall attend school; and (2) the Minister may require an Indian who has attained the age of six years to attend school. Originally, few Indian children of six years of age were required to go to school and the rest did not have the opportunity. Today that situation has changed, or more correctly, it is changing as will be seen by the summary in Table 9 of school starting ages.

In Nova Scotia some fifty native children or 37 per cent of the Grade I population started into some form of pre-Grade I orientation at the age of four years.

It was further found that fifty-four native children or 40 per cent of all the Grade I population had become involved in some form of pre-Grade I orientation at the age of five years.

A total of twenty-two children or 16 per cent of the grade total commenced school in Grade I at the age of six.

Four other children started in Grade I at the age of seven and three children went into Grade I at the age of eight.

Table 9

Starting Age of Indian Children to School or Some Form of Pre-Grade I Orientation

School	4	5	6	7	8	Totals
North Queen's	0	1	0	0	0	1
Baddeck	0	3	0	0	0	3
Cambridge	1	0	0	0	0	1
Eskasoni	21	10	14	3	3	51
Johnstown Cons.	0	3	0	0	0	3
Nyanza, Middle River	0	7	1	0	0	8
Oakdene, Bear River	1	1	1	0	0	3
St. Mary's, Truro	2	1	0	0	0	3
St. John's, New Glasgow	1	2	2	0	0	5
St. Anthony, Sydney	5	2	0	0	0	7
Shubenacadie	15	10	4	1	0	30
Tracadie, N. S.	2	2	0	0	0	4
Whycocomagh - Federal	2	8	1	0	0	11
Whycocomagh - Consol.	0	4	0	0	0	4
Totals	50	54	23	4	3	134

Summary of Children in Various Pre-Grade I Starting Age Groups

A summary was made of the data for the Grade I population and the details are listed in Table 10.

From this summary, it was found that for all starting age groups there were sixty-four children or 48 per cent of the Grade I population who moved through to Grade II without any retention in Grade I.

It was also found that another thirty-two children or 23.5 per cent of the Grade I population had moved into Grade II after being retained in Grade I.

The total number of children who were retained in Grade I or its equivalent level starting in September, 1972, was thirty-eight or 28 per cent of the Grade I population.

The number of boys found in the population was fifty-six or 42 per cent while the girls totalled seventy-eight or 58 per cent.

Federal Versus Provincial Schools

The population size in any of the fourteen schools which were the source of information for the project, with the exception of Eskasoni and Shubenacadie, made it impossible to extract information which could be considered valid.

Table 10

Summary of Starting Age and Retention Factors

Age Started Pre-Grade I Orientation or Grade II	Number Moved to Grade II Without Retention in Grade I		Number Moved to Grade II After Retention		Number Retained in Grade I		Totals		Total
	Boys	Girls	Boys	Girls	Boys	Girls	Boys	Girls	
4	12	22	1	0	4	11	17	33	50
5	8	21	9	4	7	5	23	31	54
6	0	1	6	7	7	2	13	10	23
7	0	0	1	2	0	1	1	3	4
8	0	0	1	1	1	0	2	1	3
Totals	20	44	18	14	18	20	56	78	134

Eskasoni, a federal school in Cape Breton, reported a total of fifty-one children or 48 per cent of the total population of Grade I for all the schools in Nova Scotia in 1971-1972. Of this number, forty-two children or 32 per cent moved into Grade II in September, 1972, while nine children or 6 per cent were retained in Grade I for another year.

Shubenacadie, a provincial school, had a total of thirty children or 22 per cent of the total in Grade I in 1971. Of this number sixteen students or 12 per cent were moved into Grade II, while fourteen students or 10 per cent were retained for another year.

Close examination of the figures for both schools revealed that at Eskasoni, out of the forty-two children who had been moved into Grade II, some fifteen or 11 per cent of these had already spent two years in Grade I. Another nine children or 7 per cent had spent three years in that grade.

At Shubenacadie, only one child had been retained in Grade I for two years out of the fifteen children who were moved into Grade II in 1972. Of the fifteen children who were not moved into Grade II, fourteen children or 10 per cent were going to spend their second year in Grade I and one child was starting his third year in September, 1972.

Reference has been made to the change of policy which has been taking place in the Education Branch of the Department of Indian Affairs and Northern Development. It would appear that these changes have stemmed from the recommendations of the Parliamentary Standing Committee on Indian Affairs and Northern Development.[2] Among other things the Committee recommended that:

> . . .the Government must immediately and in full consultation and partnership with the Indian and Eskimo peoples of Canada, develop a Federal education system as free from the deficiencies afflicting our present system as is humanly possible.

Actually, the Committee had been working with the Department of Indian Affairs and Northern Development in considering their Annual Reports from year to year. The effect of this consultation is shown even before the release of the report of the Standing Committee in the brief presented to the Special Senate Committee on Poverty, on Tuesday, January 20, 1970, by representatives of the Department of Indian Affairs and Northern Deveoopment. The statements of Mr. L. P. G. Waller, Chief Superintendent of Indian Education, Ottawa, is to be found in Appendix C. It is apparent from Mr. Waller's statement that the policy of the Department, which formerly permitted children to be kept for two and three

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[2]Senate Report No. 27, op. cit., p. 21.

years in Grade I has now changed. The new policy is to approve the movement of children from grade to grade, year by year with as little interruption as possible. It is also apparent from the information obtained from the sample that this policy has just begun to be operational in federal schools like Eskasoni.

Conclusions

This project set out to determine the validity or lack of validity of the hypothesis that there would be a reduction in the repeat rate of Indian children in Grade I in either federal or provincial schools in Nova Scotia under certain conditions. The conditions which were postulated were pre-Grade I orientation and familiarity with the language of instruction.

It is believed, on the basis of the findings, that the general hypothesis has been validated and that the repeat rate of native children in either federal or provincial schools is reduced when the children have had some years of pre-Grade I orientation and come into Grade I with enough background in English to understand it as the language of instruction.

The facts are clear. A total of ninety-six children out of the total Grade I population of one hundred and thirty-four were able to move out of Grade I in September, 1972, and were able to go into Grade II or

its equivalent. Percentagewise, this figure represented 72 per cent of all the Grade I population. This percentage is almost the complete opposite of the 80 per cent figure found by Hawthorn in his national study of 1965. For years this percentage has been quoted by educators and politicians as an indication of the failure of the school system to meet the needs of the native children. It has been recognized as the condition which has triggered off the failure syndrome, the age-retardation pattern which created the sense of alienation and resulted in the national dropout figure of 94 per cent.

But in Nova Scotia schools, in the year 1971-72, this condition does not now exist in Grade I according to the findings which have been submitted.

The vital importance of pre-Grade I orientation in this change is visibly demonstrated. Of the ninety-six children who moved into Grade II in September, 1972, a total of thirty-four children or 35 per cent had been exposed to pre-Grade I orientation starting at the age of four and had gone through the system without retention in Grade I. A further twenty-nine children or 30 per cent who had been exposed to pre-Grade I orientation starting at the age of five had also gone through the system without retention in Grade I. By contrast, only one child out of twenty-three children who had not received any pre-Grade I orientation and who had started

in Grade I at the age of six, was able to go through to Grade II without being retained in Grade I. No child who started school at seven or eight without any pre-Grade I orientation was able to go through Grade I without being retained for a minimum of two years and in most cases the period was three years.

It would appear from this information that an Indian child who goes into Grade I without any previous exposure to the school system whether in a federal school or a provincial school will find it extremely difficult to make a satisfactory adjustment that will permit him to go through the work of Grade I or its equivalent without being retained for a second or even a third year. This situation is particularly relevant when the Indian child commences school at six, seven or eight years of age and has already developed his own cultural pattern.

The relationship of the ability of the native child to understand the language of instruction, whether English or French, to retention in Grade I is equally apparent when all facts are uncovered. On the surface there would appear to be some contradictions. Out of the one hundred and thirty-four children constituting the Grade I population, eighty-three or 62 per cent came from homes where the language most commonly used was

Micmac. Another eighteen children or 14 per cent indicated that the language chiefly used in their homes was a mixture of Micmac and English, while thirty-three or 24 per cent reported that the language commonly used in the home was English.

In analyzing the language background of the sixty-four children or 48 per cent of the Grade I population who were able to move into Grade II without being retained in Grade I, it was found that thirty-nine or 29 per cent of the Grade I population came from homes where the language commonly used was Micmac. Another eight children or six per cent came from homes where there was a mixture of Micmac and English spoken, while seventeen children or 13 per cent reported that in their homes the language most commonly used was English.

From these findings the conclusion might be drawn that either the influence of early pre-Grade I orientation had effectively assisted in the socialization of the native child in the language aspect of the new culture with which he was confronted or else there were other factors which assisted in breaching the language barrier.

The available evidence supports both positions.

The fact that one hundred and four native children out of the total Grade I population of one hundred and thirty-four or a percentage figure of 78 per cent were

exposed to some form of pre-Grade I orientation from the ages of four and five would have enabled these children to have more understanding and facility in the language of instruction.

The fact that only one child out of a total of thirty children, who started in Grade I without any pre-Grade I orientation, was able to move into Grade II without being retained in Grade I, must be considered significant. In addition, some twenty-three of these children were six years old when they started in Grade I while four were seven years of age and three were eight years of age. Only three of these thirty children came from homes where English was the most common language of the home.

Other factors have assisted in the ability of the native child coming from a home where Micmac was the language of usage to make the adjustment to understanding the language of instruction.

One of these is the influence of television which has become available to most families on the Shubenacadie Reserve. The exposure to this medium of the native child from two years onward provides a background of the white culture which would never have been obtained otherwise. Headstart and nursery school programs are also utilizing educational shows like Sesame Street to enlarge and enrich

the comprehension of the native child of the outside world.

Another factor is the breaking down of the isolation which has kept some of the reserves out of the mainstream of community life. This has been most noticeable in places like Nyanza, Eskasoni and Whycocomagh. All have federal schools and the overwhelming majority of homes indicate that Micmac has been the language of usage in the home. In all three schools the parents have established school committees which have taken an active part in bringing pressure for change. Parents have insisted on better teachers, improved school conditions and a greater comprehension and understanding on the part of the school.

In those schools which are neither isolated nor operated by the federal authorities, another pattern in the use of language is found. On the Membertou Reserve, in Sydney, most of the children go to the city elementary school or high schools or vocational schools, which come under provincial jurisdiction. Very few of the native children come from homes where English is the second language and they become bilingual or fluent in English at an early age. A case in point is the record of the seven children found in Grade I at the St. Anthony Daniel School. In September, 1972, all seven, who came from

homes where English was the language of common usage, were moved into Grade II or its equivalent level, six of them without any retention in Grade I.

Another case is the Shubenacadie District Elementary School where there is a transition situation. Unlike the Membertou Reserve, the Micmac Reserve has not had a lengthy integration with the outside community school. Most of the Micmac children come from homes where English is now the language most frequently used, but the school does not appear to provide sufficient enrichment to the native children. The school also does not yet have any native teachers employed or even any native teaching aides.

The results in this school are not impressive in the first grade. In September, 1972, out of thirty children is Grade I during the period 1971-72, only three reported that they considered Micmac to be the language of the home; ten children said they spoke a mixture of Micmac and English, while seventeen said that English was the common language of the home. It was found that only one of the children from Micmac-speaking homes was moved into Grade II without retention. Not much better were the seventeen children from the English-speaking homes. Only seven children were able to move into Grade II without retention in Grade I.

The conclusion which can be drawn from the different sets of figures is that the degree of reduction in retention in Grade I is closely linked with pre-Grade I orientation and the extent of familiarity with the language of instruction in the school. Such familiarity and understanding of the language of instruction is dependent upon numerous factors, a number of which have been delineated.

Recommendations

From the success which has been achieved by those children who have had the benefit of early exposure to the pattern and methodology of the school system of the dominant culture, it becomes obvious that if native children are to avoid the age-grade retardation problem that has beset them over the years, then they have to be given the opportunity to attend nursery schools, headstart programs as early as possible, preferably at the age of three. This age level has already been recommended by the Parliamentary Standing Committee on Indian Affairs but its realization appears to be in the future unless additional funds are provided by the federal government.

It is recommended that encouragement be given to young native people to become teachers in both federal and provincial schools in Nova Scotia in either elementary, secondary or pre-school institutions. In this area, Nova

Scotia lags behind; and it has been found that there are only about four or five native teachers, although the student population has reached over twelve hundred native children and is still growing. In other provinces, schools of education for teachers have provided special courses for social counsellors. In Ontario, some forty-five students were graduated from this course in 1972. At the University of Brandon, some fifty-three students were enrolled in a three-year teacher training program that would graduate them as fully qualified teachers in 1974. In Alberta, thirty-nine teacher assistants were trained at Mount Royal Junior College and subsequently employed by provincial school boards. The funding for this training was the responsibility of the Education Branch of the Department of Indian Affairs.

It is recommended that in all programs in the pre-Grade I area, as well as in other areas, that there be the maximum involvement by the parents of the children attending the programs. Past experience has demonstrated that without such involvement on a continuing basis, there are no long-term gains for the children.

It is recommended that all pre-Grade I orientation programs be carefully designed based on the needs of the individual child to provide a purposeful participation in a variety of activities. It is recommended that there should be extensive verbalization about the activities in

which they are involved and the experiences which they have had. It is recommended that as wide a range of verbal and counting games should be used, with success awarded at all points.

It is recommended that teachers working with native children who need help in language usage should formulate specific objectives; as it has been found that in programs where a certain linguistic structure has been taught, significant improvement has occurred.

In order to build morale amongst teenage students and to increase the number of aides working with pre-school and in the early grades, it is recommended that teenage Indian students be invited to participate in the program. Experience has shown that such aides can be effectively used with a short period of on-the-job training and that they can contribute significantly while benefitting themselves.

It is recommended that all teachers who have any responsibility for teaching native children should be provided with the opportunity to take a course which would familiarize them with the history, psychology and value systems of the native people with whom they work. Such courses are already available to teachers in other provinces.

It is recommended that any native child who is classified as not being eligible for the work of Grade II

or its equivalent level should be thoroughly checked in order to determine the strengths and weaknesses of the child. If there are special learning difficulties then the correct remedial treatment should be provided. If the problems stem from cultural dissonance, then every effort should be made to meet the needs of the child through a curriculum satisfactory for him.

It is recommended as a means of overcoming the language gap which exists in some of the more isolated schools that there should be a greater amount of reading material made available to the child and his parents. In most homes there is still a limited number of books, papers or magazines which the native child needs as a stimulus for his development beyond his own Indian culture. It is suggested that the use of mobile vans travelling regularly from reserve to reserve with books and artifacts and cultural material which can be shown by different visual aids would be a step in the right direction.

It is believed that the recommendation of the Parliamentary Committee for Indian education should be implemented.

> That the language of instruction at the pre-school level and up to the first or second year of primary school should be in the language of the local Indian or Eskimo community with secondary and tertiary languages English and/or

> French being introduced gradually through the pre-school and primary period and that courses linked to the local Indian or Eskimo culture continue to be taught in the local language throughout the primary level of school.

And finally, it is recommended that the advice of Roberta Jamieson of the Six Nation Reservation and co-author of A Review of Indian Education in North America be carefully considered.

> The most important recommendation is for Native cultural content in the educational system. In the past, the Indian has been alienated from his education due to his inability to identify with the curriculum. This should be remedied. The child should learn new concepts using the environment around him, then he can be taught to generalize his knowledge to different environments. The child should not be expected to begin with things he is unfamiliar with, and then be labelled 'slow' when he fails to understand.
>
> There is a tremendous need for content which is meaningful to the Indian. The amount of Native content and what it is that is most relevant should be decided by the Indians themselves.

Future Research

It is believed that this present project should be considered only as the beginning. Other research which should be eventually undertaken is a continuation of the current study on a longitudinal basis. The basic raw data about each of the one hundred and thirty-four children is available and they could be followed over the next twelve years, on a year-to-year basis. A separate

file could be established for each child after the project has been discussed with the parents and their approval obtained for the project.

APPENDIX A

LETTER OF INTRODUCTION

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APPENDIX B

FORM USED TO TABULATE DATA

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APPENDIX C

EXCERPT FROM PROCEEDINGS OF SPECIAL SENATE COMMITTEE ON POVERTY

APPENDIX C

Excerpt from Proceedings of the Special Senate Committee on Poverty, January 14, 1970

SENATOR CARTER: On pages 18-21 (of the brief) you give a breakdown of the enrolment, and I cannot quite figure it out. The first one deals with grades 9 to 13 in the provinces and territories, and it seems to be quite straightforward. But when you get to Table 2, 'Percentage of enrolment by grades, 1964-69, Indian and Canadian enrolments grades 9 to 13,' I couldn't quite figure it out or compare it with Table 1. Table 1 gives the figures as well as the percentages, but Table 2 gives the percentages only. What I want to find out for the various grades is the enrolment in Indian and federal schools as compared with provincial schools.

MR. WALLER: We have divided the enrolment between elementary grades 1 to 6 and then grades 7 to 12 or 13. There, so far as Indian enrolment is concerned, 30% of the enrolment is in grade 7 to 13 and the other 70% would be in grades 1 to 6.

SENATOR CARTER: What percentage would be in what we call high school, grade 8 and upwards?

MR. WALLER: Well, we took the point as being grade 7 because in Quebec high school starts there; and from grade 7 to grade 13, we have 30% enrolled this year.

SENATOR CARTER: How would that compare with Indians attenting provincial schools?

MR. WALLER: Well, I was taking the whole picture without any differentiation.

SENATOR CARTER: But that is the point I am after; how does the number of Indians attending federal schools compare with the number attending provincial schools?

MR. WALLER: We do not have high schools in the federal system. We have grades 7, 8, 9, and-after that they go on into the provincial schools.

MR. MacDONALD: (Deputy Minister) I think what you want to do is to have a basic statistical review to find out how this works out. On the question of success achieved by those attending high school in the federal system as opposed to the provincial system, I think the latter would turn out to be better.

MR. WALLER: We have spent a great deal of time on this and we know today that there isn't a large number of familures in schools because the children move from grade to grade from year to year.

APPENDIX D

MAP OF RESERVES AND FEDERAL SCHOOLS IN NOVA SCOTIA

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